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ABSTRACT

The document consists of 25 papers on various topics in ethnic studies presented at an institute at King's College, Pennsylvania. General topics include two essays on teaching approaches to ethnic studies: a bibliography of relevant reference materials, fiction, poetry, drama, biography, audiovisual materials, research centers, and Pennsylvania ethnic organizations; an essay on oral history: and an essay on the ethnic configuration of American religion. Four papers discuss Irish-Americans and the Welsh in America and Pennsylvania, and as depicted by American writers. Other cultural groups covered are the Jewish people, German-Americans, blacks, Byzantine immigrants, Polish-Americans, and Lithuanians. Essays which discuss specific areas in Pennsylvania include "The Challenge of Ethnic Studies in Northeastern Pennsylvania," "Standard English and Northeastern Pennsylvania," "Some Statistics on the Immigrant Influx into Luzerne County 1870-1910," "Compilation of 1970 Census Data on Foreign Stock in Luzerne County," "Ukrainians in Luzerne County," and "Centennial History of St. Stanislaus Church." (KC)

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ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES:

PAPERS OF THE INSTITUTE AT KING'S COLLEGE, 1975

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Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18711

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We are indebted to the participants for their reactions, the Luzerne Intermediate Unit for their cooperation, and to many local organizations for their help.

This is a work of contributors — who tried to convey to their colleagues and students the traditions of community.

It would not have been possible without the efforts of the secretarial and printing offices and the Library of King's College.

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A CULTURAL APPROACH TO ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES

by

Clement L. Valletta

Ethnic study is not new; only the concept of "ethnicity" is. American settlers have been influenced for a very long time by Indian civilization and by European, Asian, and African sources. Puritan and Separatist reaction against Anglicanism was after all a seventeenth century continuation of Protestantism which had its roots on the Continent. Modern Capitalism, about which we debate endlessly, had its roots in the Mediterranean, the meeting of the three continents. The fierce democratic spirit of early Americans was also known much earlier in Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania — countries that were repressed by imperial powers of Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. American immigrant sons fought these powers. After World War I long repressed states of Central Europe achieved nationhood in part through the efforts of naturalized citizens of whom many lived in the Wyoming Valley.

"Heritage" of this area evokes images of early Indian massacres and of the brave exploits of early Connecticut settlers. Yet few realize the influence of Indian civilization upon the character of our government, social polity, and self-image. The familiar caucus of political groups is a term and form of Iroquois organization which settlers borrowed; nor was this extraordinary, for Indian political style was nonauthoritarian, electing chiefs spontaneously for specific kinds of leadership when necessary. Rule was consultative not imperial. The Indians' love of personal liberty and freedom was proverbial among the colonists and the independent spirit of the Revolutionaries was traced to Indian influence.[1]

Those self-evident principles about the natural state of human freedom in the Declaration of Independence derive from Jefferson, who imbibed the philosophy of John Locke. In his *Essay Concerning Civil Government*, Locke uses the image of America in numerous instances to argue that men are "by nature all free, equal, and independent." Since he had to find examples of *early* human, democratic organization to support his thesis, Locke turned natually to Indian accounts, for instance:

> . . .the kings of the Indians in America, which is still a pattern of the first ages in Asia and Europe, whilst the inhabitants were too few for the country, and want of people and money gave men no temptation to enlarge their possessions of land or contest for wider extent of ground, are little more than generals of their armies; and though they command absolutely in war, yet at home, and in time of peace, they exercise very little dominion, and have but a very moderate sovereignty, the resolutions of peace and war being ordinarily either in the people or in a council, though the war itself, which admits not of pluralities of governors, naturally evolves the command into the king's sole authority."[2]

Locke's dense Latinate prose had not benefitted from his individualistic interpretation of human rights. The implications of his ideas upon government — and upon style perhaps — were not lost on Jefferson who compared the Indians "in their present state with the Europeans, north of the Alps, when the Roman arms and arts first crossed those mountains." Although the whites then "were numerous and somewhat interested in improvements," Jefferson believed the

Indians were "endowed with the faculties and rights of men, breathing an ardent love of liberty and independence. . . ."[3]

As you have noted already, I hope to suggest a number of implications for ethnic and cultural study, and conclude by offering a few approaches that I hope you will find somehow practical.

Ethnic instances of our heritage abound so plentifully it seems unnecessary albeit iconoclastic to notice even a few. Washington Irving patterned Rip Van Winkle upon a German folktale; Icabod Crane, the Archetypal Yankee schoolmaster, was outmaneuvered by a Dutch backwoodsman Brom Bones; Twain's characterization of Huckleberry Finn is much different from that of the white settlers along the Mississippi, and Huck is most influenced by Jim's bravery and insight. Even our topography and its fables — as Twain's Mississippi — have foreign comparisons, in the myths of the Ganges, the Nile, the Rhine, or the Tiber.[4] The more closely we realize any "American" object or habit, the more textured for its having extra American roots and tendrils.

We cherish the memory of great leaders because so many of our elected officials have not been so great. We wonder with Henry Adams about the contrast between his family's leadership and that of the late nineteenth century in America. We can realize his way of comparing foreign with American life to understand the latter — and upon reflection understand why many of our greatest writers (Frost, Pound, T.S. Eliot, W.C. Williams, Hemingway) were recognized in Europe before they were in America; or understand what Moby-Dick, perhaps the greatest of our novels, was not adequately recognized until well into the Twentieth Century when even the professors overcame their slavish attitude toward English literature. We may realize that Melville treats many ethnic themes including the meeting of Eastern and Western Worlds through the characterization of Ishmael and Queequeg; but Melville goes further:

> . . .not one in two of the many thousand men before the mast employed in the American whale fishery, are Americans born, though pretty nearly all the officers are. Herein it is the same with the American whale fishery as with the American army and military and merchant navies, and the engineering forces employed in the construction of the American Canals and Railroads.[5]

Melville was in a position to know in 1850, and since then the relevance of his perception has only increased.

When one speaks with justification of the greatness of America, one speaks sooner or later of industrial capacity and opportunities for freedom associated with wealth of natural resources. British Protestants applied extensively and prodigiously tools and power-driven machinery to the land. This preference for industrial rather than manual means although age old intensified in late Eighteenth Century Britain and soon accelerated in America where skilled workers were few, imperial and guild restrictions relatively absent, and class lines less clearly marked.[6] Hence, "the greatest question of all about American democracy is whether it is a cause or a consequence." William Graham Sumner of Yale answers his question of 1894; "democracy is a consequence" because "in the economic forces which control the material prosperity of a population lie the real causes of its political institutions, its social class-adjustments, its industrial prosperity, its moral code, and its world-philosophy."7

In this sense, democratic and industrial greatness involves the anthracosilicosis of your relatives and mine. English, Scottish, and Welsh miners protested against their mining conditions; indeed "acts of the British Parliament of 1775 and 1799, which were a result of the growing demand for coal and of scarcity of labor, abolished the conditions of bondage among the colliers of Scotland" — conditions of young boys and girls in the mines.8 The 300 year history of coal mining and related legislation in Europe and America records a very rapid transition from a predominantly agricultural to industrial economy.

Each immigrant group reacted to that transition in unique and similar ways; each came to America mainly to fuel its thrust. The new arrivals in mining, steel making, silk manufacture, railroad building, etc. were bossed by the early arrivals. The uniqueness of each group was at the same time threatened and reinforced; threatened because demands of industrial labor differ radically from those of agriculture; reinforced because traditions, especially imperiled ones, persist. What then might these observations explain?

The transition from agricultural to industrial economy has several implications for ethnic experience. First, the espousal of republican principles garnered from classical, French, Indian, and British traditions would disperse to more people participation in more aspects of life than existed in most previous Western European societies. Whereas ancient civilization relied upon slave power of captured people and then the work of serfs and peasants, modern western societies used machine and immigrant power, as well as slave power. In this sense, mass immigration to the United States existed because it was industrially necessary. In the early 1920s businessmen discovered that machines, "that the iron men, combined with growing migration of black men from the rural south," could relieve "industry from its historic dependence on European manpower."9 Final restriction of immigration, of course, occured in 1924. Although slave power was used in some form and all but sanctioned for a very long time, the American system of checks and balances held promise of a better society open to change whereby economic and political interests could compete within institutions. The transition process continues, moreover, at this time in Europe and America. Millions of illegal aliens in the United States now perform menial jobs that Americans refuse to do. Men from southern Europe still migrate north to seek jobs. This "external proletariat" is the most recent of immigrant currents set in motion by the needs of industry and modern society.

A second implication of the transition is the tendency for societies like ours to value prosperity, progress, practicality, individualism measured by degrees of material production and accumulation. Majority values espoused variously by Aryrans, Anglo-Saxons, Magyars, (and Northerners generally speaking) become the glory of Horatio Alger fictions and the bane of Janosik legends. The values of northern industrial societies reflect analogously the features of a well-designed machine: efficient, easily repairable, predictable, subservient. Consider a description by the Immigration Commission of 1910:

> The inducement which has brought, and is still bringing, to this community large numbers of European immigrants is the ready

> market it affords for the commodity in which they are richest — muscle and time. The immigrants can get what seems at first a prodigious price for a service so simple it can be indicated by a gesture. The great bulk of the labor connected with coal mining consists in lifting from one point to another an easily distinguished class of earthly objects, merely loading coal.[10]

It should be noted that roughly before the early 1920s miners used black powder, pick and shovel, mule and steam; but "after that date mechanical mining devices came into use and brought with them a marked increase in dust exposure and a significant decrease in particle size of this dust."[11]

Third, the necessity for order in an industrial democracy has not meant tyranny perhaps, but a dictatorial rule by the majority; Alexis de Tocqueville's analysis runs in dialogue: "The master no longer says: 'You shall think as I do or you shall die'; but he says: 'You are free to think differently from me and to retain your life, your property, and all you possess, but you are henceforth a stranger among your people; . . .and even those who believe in your innocence will abandon you, lest they should be shunned in their turn.'"[12] The pressures to conform are well known. Conformist majoritarian opinion sponsors and is exacerbated by seemingly scientific assumptions such as the one held by the powerful majority of the early years of this century. It assumed that the national origin of an immigrant indicated his potential for assimilation into American society. It held even in the summary of the forty-two-volume report compiled by the Immigration Commission from 1907-1910. It held despite voluminous evidence to the contrary contained in the compiled Report itself. A study of the Report confirms the conclusions of Oscar Handlin in his seminal essay, "Old Immigrants and New": for example, the Commission thought it possible to measure the capacity of the old and new immigrants to be schooled. Although the original report reasonably concluded that "length of residence in the United States has an important bearing on progress of pupils," the summary volume — which of course most people read — did not include this sensible conclusion. Indeed, Handlin shows that the Commission did not use existing evidence which revealed that the old immigrants were more subject to alcoholism and that the new immigration had not increased the volume of crime.[13] Even statistical rules were broken into fragments of conformity.

Fourth, out of the dramatic tension between majority and minority values, between reality and promise, between industrial organization and democratic principle has come the passage of an Ethnic Heritage Studies Act and _The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics_ and the current academic reassessment of ethnicity. Political analysts generally consider types of ethnicity: a) tribal — cultural and communal boundaries deriving from bonds of kinship; b) nationality — communal identity having roots in association with a foreign country; c) racial — bonds stemming from physical and biological distinctions. "More than either tribal or nationality groups, racial ethnic groups are the results of someone else's prejudice."[14] Lawrence H. Fucks in _American Ethnic Politics_ defines ethnicity to include "nationality groups such as Italians, religious groups as broad as Protestants and as specific as Quakers, ethno-religious groups such as Irish Catholics or Jews, and racial groups such as Negroes."[15]

Lest these definitions convey the impression of long and great academic interest in ethnic politics, let John Shover of the University of Pennsylvania clarify the point: "Historians and political scientists have only recently come to recognize something that was always apparent to grass-roots politicians: a voter's ethnic and religious affiliation is an important determinant of how he casts his ballot."[16] Analyses by socialogists have also minimized the importance of ethnicity with "reason." Social Science was a product of the nineteenth century, a reaction to the industrial transition relegating ethnic distinctions to primordial "survivals" destined, it was believed, to disappear. Like most self-fulfilling prophecies it remade reality into its own image, in this case, by ignoring ethnic in favor of class explanations for social behavior. Thus Enloe points out that the great social scientists of the last century came from countries — France, Germany, and England — unusual in their "cultural homogeneity." Moynihan cautions: "To be sure, there are class realities but ethnic realities are there as well. Increasingly they are the *dominant* realities. Social Science needs to become much more sensitive to them."[17]

This problem can be solved it is believed by those trustful of cybernectic concepts, systems analyses, models, or to use Daniel Moynihan's and Nathan Glazer's term "theoretical explanations" in their recent collection, *Ethnicity*. Compilers of recent dictionaries and handbooks of sociological terms do not include definitions of ethnic groups. Perhaps it is just as well. Even the contributors to *Ethnicity* define it in terms of interest groups, persisting as a changing function of mobility. Glazer's and Moynihan's insights in *Beyond the Melting Pot* are highly noteworthy especially concerning the influx of new immigrants and changes of life style in New York City. In the introduction to *Ethnicity* they suggest that it can describe the "developing nations." A repaired theoretical mode may serve to analyze the records of yet unnamed nations. Daniel Bell, however, believes ethnic issues will fade as hard times "make economic class issues central again."[18] This view like that of a city planner looking down upon his model has a certain salience.

Enamoured of science and industrialism, social analysts have often fallen into the scientific fallacy of applying physical concepts to human situations. A general illusion persists that science is objective and that therefore the more scientific a study the more objective. A specific mechanism or technique may be a universal — such as random sampling usuages, internal combustion engine, nuclear fission, formula for I.Q. — but their origination, application, and implication are products of a particular people and their culture. We can think of the fallacious assumptions about I.Q. which have unfortunately influenced evaluations of school children for generations. We are very aware of the social and cultural differences in the world which suggest how nuclear fission might be used. Science is a product of cultural world view, and western society has no monopoly on artistic and scientific achievement: "If we do not take the next step in the ascent of man, it will be taken by people elsewhere in Africa, in China."[19] Bronowski goes on: "One aim of the physical sciences has been to give an exact picture of the material world. One achievement of physics in the Twentieth Century has been to prove that aim unattainable."[20] One of the ironies of the atomic age is our tendency to blame science for devising weaponry or not devising a pollution free environment while at the same time we seek technological means to do just about everything; "if we rely upon science alone we will be left with no sense of the purpose of existence, and thus no basis for determining our political goals to guide the blind forces of applied technology."[21] This tendency describes *our* culture and may so preoccupy us with nonessential aspects of technology that Bronowski's fear may be realized — a culture other than ours may take "the next step. . . ."

At any rate, we know that as social science described and technology empowered industrial change, the humanities have been a preserve recording and at time satirizing and objecting against non-human results of the change. Ethnic dimensions alluded to in classical American stories not only persist but flourish in modern and contemporary literature. (For example, Robert Lowell, The Mills of the Kavanaughs; Philip Roth, "Goodbye Columbus"; Eugene O'Neil, Long Day's Journey Into Night; T.S. Eliot, Four Quartets; James Baldwin, Go Tell It on the Mountain. . . .)

Literary critics have left ethnic aspects of speech, tale, song, proverb in the hands of the folklorist. This has been in a way very fortunate. Although literature deals with the "folk" it often does not deal with authentic folklore[22] — just as Copland's music or Wyeth's art is not a folk expression but reflects folk themes in complex, individualistic ways. Literature all too often portrays not genuine ethnic experience but commercial stereotypes. Consider most best sellers, movies, and TV shows about "ethnic" characters. A convenient instance is The Godfather which Mario Puzo says he wrote to get his family out of debt.[23] His great novel, The Fortunate Pilgrim, did not bring enough to keep him in groceries and cigars. But of course a novelist can use stereotyped character traits to explore experience and interest his reader especially as the stereotype is exploded in, for instance, Malamud's The Assistant or Baldwin's Another Country. Thus ethnicity in the humanities is pretty much waht the originator seems to say it is to the reader. Well-presented ethnic themes in literature (like authentic folklore) are worthy of study; but specialized literary criticism like social science is often filled with jargon; and generally uninterested in actual ethnic experiences.

Hence the ironies: although very much a part of life ethnic and cultural experience has been pretty much ignored in the universities and schools; although social and other researchers used "scientific techniques, they did not analyze their own assumptions about physical and social science; although cultural diversity has been noted throughout our history, "no national effort was made to understand and accommodate different cultural groups";[24] and although literature and popular culture appear to treat ethnic themes, in most instances these purvey stereotypes.

We have seen that academicians have admittedly overlooked these issues. Educators are also beginning to realize the situation; for instance, Mark Klug a well-known educator is disturbed that "history and political science courses in colleges and secondary schools often ignore, distort or underplay the history of the immigration and story of the adjustment of millions of immigrants which, after all, is one of the key factors in the entire history of the United States."[25] Many educators are wondering why this oversight persists.

Answers range from a blanket indictment of the schools — that pupils "must betray family and heritage" or "settle for socio-economic failure" — to sharp criticism of teachers -- most of whom are "lower middle class origins" so "can be relied upon neither to examine nor to question the purposes of the school."[26] The criticisms point to the schools for "encouraging. . . .social problems" affecting all culturally different youth. Further insight questions the capacity of the school curriculum and its middle class biases to instruct children in a way that is integral with their heritages.

The last point bears consideration. The school is in many ways a secondary group activity fairly removed from primary group activity of the home and family and even from the neighborhood, club, and church. It is difficult — some might say impossible and even harmful — to attempt to translate primary group experience of so subjective and personal a nature into a secondary activity which stresses of necessity, uniform, carefully coded, and organized information. And even if developed ethnic studies may go the way of Black studies or Women's studies — enrolled by those who may benefit least. Furthermore, ethnicity may become another standard used by antagonists to advance their own causes, or used to inflate egos depleted by failure.

Polemics satisfy only momentarily, and sometimes degenerate into confirmed ignorance and even violence. We are also aware of many subtle pretexts for teaching prejudice.

These criticisms may turn out to be crucial; but then again those who examine these and other assumptions may learn something about themselves and our institutions and traditions. Why not confront the whole question of ethnic heritage study and "ethnicity" by remembering that 1) while immigrants of all kinds have endured hardship and prejudice in America our national leaders have been traveling about the world for a very long time, applying to America foreign social, technological, literary, architectural, and educational techniques; 2) while recent offspring of immigrants were becoming "better" members of the middle class they have unwittingly cut themselves off from vital traditions which inspired democratic-loving peoples everywhere including America; and 3) while they — or should it be, we — have sought to retain these traditions they have often done so in ways they have assumed would gain acceptance and therefore have minimized their own heritages and the heritage of America.

The best evidence, or at least the most memorable, is first hand. Begin then with autobiography by asking about the ways ethnic has influenced personal experience. I'm sure many have talked with older relatives and others who know the history of the community. We have read accounts of ethnic experience in America and over several generations. The more we know about a particular academic field the more we realize its ethnic implications. Thus we begin to appreciate how complicated is the study of community and even a standard discipline because written accounts are often non-existent, fallacious, or irrelevant; oral histories are interesting but need validation, difference of languages are difficult to overcome. These problems can be addressed by Institutes, and the states and the colleges are collecting immigrant materials which are, of course, historical sources of the same relevance as the usual sources.[27] Since academicians have chosen the usual and have overlooked even obvious evidence, we are advised to look to our intuitions and ideas, and thereby to test conceptual schemes of the various disciplines.

An autobiographical approach awakens, evens provokes interest in ethnic experience. Study possibilities will occur and families, ethnic organizations, and others may need to become involved if pupils are to accomplish local history or interview projects. There may be very real concerns of people who may not want to discuss certain incidents and who do not want their children to know about them. Imagine, moreover, the reaction of an individual who has changed his name, residence, and life style expressly to forget his ancestry. Thus although we may individually find much of interest in ethnic studies, we may as teachers find that our enthusiasm is not shared by parents. Indeed, even parents who are proud of their heritage may want it left out of school curriculums on the assumption it won't receive proper treatment.

The schools have avoided study of cultural pluralism for too many reasons to discuss here; yet part of much autobiography is the influence of the school. I don't believe the schools have had the major responsibility of preserving ethnic study insofar as they have reflected rather than examined the system. It is pointless to stress home and community life if the forces of mass society are ignored. Consider, for instance, the effects upon the home of occupational changes, processed foods, television, movies, clothing styles, etc. Thoroughly modern students may have as little interest in studying Wilkes-Barre of the 1890's as they have of studying China in the seventh century. Even at its best ethnic studies may go the way of many modes in education having more enthusiasm than substance.

The school, or rather teachers, can do what they have done traditionally and that is to act as elders as well as fellow students, knowledgeable and informal philosophers as well as resource persons. We know how recent is the history of the stern, female school teacher, embodying the essential and superficial virtues of the work ethnic; how much more recent is the reaction against that older style by the young, bright, understanding teacher. Both styles result from the system — one to drill and prepare students to enter it, the other to charm them into living with it. If we look to cultural ancestries we find a different experience. Since many immigrants were "illiterate," it is generally assumed that education was non-existent in emigrant countries, or for that matter in regions of emigration in the United States. What we don't understand sufficiently is how well parents themselves coped with their environment. We have some idea but not nearly enough of how parents taught with actions (crafts, posture, place) and, as children grew up, with proverbs, ancedotes, and other oral forms of tradition. The community taught with tales and legends of natural and man made occurence as well as with institutional programs, objectives, and structures. The school teachers and bookmen in places of emigration often risked death or exile if they taught what authorities forbade: racial equality in certain regions; the Polish, Lithuanian, or Slovak languages; the history of Ireland. In other words, we can take a cultural approach toward understanding the role of education. Nor is this approach academic, for we have evidence that the home, cultural attitudes, and values play a much larger role than the schools in the amount of education students are motivated to seek.[28] Shouldn't students benefit from both the knowledge and inspiration of ethnic, multi-cultural attitudes. Such attitudes may be developed by taking a cultural approach, once we have awakened to ethnic experience through autobiography. If the greatest invention of modern science in Western Societies is the scientific method, perhaps the greatest social conception is that of culture. The culture concept assumes that 1) any definable people (region, nationality, nation, etc.) have or act as if they have a particular order through which they organize and react to life, and 2) observers and participants use analyses, descriptions, and explanations in their attempts to understand a particular culture. Let me hasten to add that concepts of culture abound, but that one has to distinguish always between the descriptions (words, charts, formulas, etc.) which people use to understand a culture, and the structure of that culture which in its complexity and human mystery can never ultimately be known by anyone.

The culture or anthropological attitude seems to relate most affectively and specifically to human experience. Anthropological insight is not new, of course, and is itself a reaction against narrow concepts of nineteenth and twentieth century social science. Certainly anthropology has many schools benefitting from social science, science, and the humanities and these have been influenced, in turn, by the field of anthropology and the traditions which gave rise to it: for instance, the new history of Les Annales-istes, the new humanists and other schools in American Studies, the cultural-biographical school in literary criticism, the study of decentralization in political science, the traditions of philosopher-scientist. What then are a few of the advantages and limitations of this approach — which might serve as long range curriculum goals: to evaluate informational and conceptual techniques and assumptions in the light of their time and place of development, which may or may not have enabled us to recognize the problems associated with narrow academic concepts about society; to understand and evaluate one culture in terms of another, which may have enabled us as a people to recognize unused potential and the limitations of our own culture; to recognize that seemingly ordinary activity and objects symbolize culturally important values, which insight may still mean only surface knowledge without substantial change; to recognize how America has been a multi-cultural society not only across the international and professional dimension about which too little is acknowledged but also throughout personal and small group experience about which too little is appreciated.

The exploration of these goals may enable students and teachers to regard themselves as cultural heirs — in a culture which has made a fetish of squandering inheritances and traditions.

At any rate, teachers may see themselves as heirs of learning having individual and universal dimensions of cultural meaning; or teachers may see themselves primarily as members of an institution reflecting such meaning perhaps but much more preoccupied with the vocational preparation of their students. Successful classroom management, personized instruction, behavioral, quantifiable objectives are useful tools to teach techniques and some degree of resourcefulness; however, as levels of attainment are foreknown and prejudged, to that extent, the pupil is programmed. This is desirable and in a bureaucratic structure inevitable under many appropriate circumstances. Our point is only that from an academic standpoint a cultural approach opens up areas of knowledge and that from a practical standpoint such approach may improve the vocational accomplishment of students. I am asking that a cultural dimension become a part of instruction and that it be evaluated in part with cultural criteria.

Our headings and strategies may not relate to specific courses of study, but do offer a variety of applications. Study of a subject usually begins at what upon examination turns out to be its conclusions. We study literature that has been rewritten and polished for a culture that no longer exists — and we insist that the set of preordained meanings contained must be extracted in prescribed ways. We study social studies about mores, systems, and characteristics that exist for reasons we rarely explore as if reality exists only in our concepts. And we even teach science as a universe separate from people and their past and present circumstances. We believe the controlled environment of the classroom should teach students the conclusions of a subject in the shortest measurable time.

Few of us have any special quarrel with all this; we simply want an alternate — although admittedly far from ideal — alternative.

We begin then with the question: How did the world set forth in literature, science and social study get to be the way it is for the student, his family, and community; how did this human situation or material object come to be what it is? One place to begin is the neighborhood — who lives in a pupil's neighborhood, when did they settle there, and for what reasons. Several students can bring information to class, a map can illustrate the settlement of several neighborhoods. After enough names, dates, and reasons are gathered pupils may realize that their neighborhoods do have meaning to them and to the larger community; that reactions from their neighbors to their projects may have significance, and that the conclusions of social studies about mobility, class, religious preferences, ethnicity may assume some character. Now many must have used this technique and have even evaluated the quality and quantity of each student's project.

If a teacher finds that pupils received cooperation from their neighborhoods (and if not those reasons can be explored) then the class can study their neighborhoods in a more detailed way, for instance: the composition of households specfying parents and children, grandparents or other relatives, and roles of members. Neighbors may define themselves as members of a particular ethnic, religious, or political group and have their own interpretation of how the neighborhood came to be what it is. We can not evaluate the worth of students' projects solely on the quantity of information, nor can we be very sure that the quality is significant unless we ourselves are aware of the neighborhood and its ethnic characteristics and values. We should be prepared to let our classes know that a neighborhood leader or their own parents and they themselves are the ones who have to judge the final worth of any project. (You can see the interesting evaluation problem with the cultural approach.) The teacher may take the class to a neighborhood, or have neighborhood people visit the class and arrange a dialogue to formulate methods of evaluation about what was discovered and what was not.

Maps of how the neighborhood looked at periods over the past several generations may be made; anecdotes and other tales may be gathered; and, who knows, geological, biological, and architectural questions may arise about the area comprised by the neighborhoods including what rock formations led to the features of coal and shale deposits; what animals and plants existed and perhaps still exist; what led to the street arrangement, to housing and other structural styles. Then conclusions about man's relationship with the environment can be considered in multicultural and multidisciplinary ways.

Questions of statistical analysis will arise sooner or later in any survey taken by the class. Certainly they will recognize the limitations of generalization based upon an inadequate sample, and even the problems of developing a good questionnaire may be explored. Even so, the results should suggest mathematical applications. Final reports will require some attention to writing skills including standard usuage as well as interesting dialect variations if student can tape record or take close notes. The possibilities for writing description and narration are many and immediate to real situations. Once the analysis by the class is completed discussions may take place about meanings, issues, and even recommendations for future changes Further research may be needed. argumentative and journalistic techniques may be used by students to press for their positions. Students with artistic ability may use graphic applications to visualize the settings and programs for future consideration.

This approach will not work out unless planned with adequate resource material on hand. Not all students will be uniformly successful in gathering information. Those who for one reason or another can not, may be assigned to do background research in secondary sources, or to accomplish work based upon information gathered by others.

The assignment may involve several teachers having diverse backgrounds in social science, communicating arts, and even biological science and mathematics. Those schools blessed with flexible scheduling, movable walls, and individualized concepts of instruction may use whole blocks of time with large and small group participation. The assignment may be repeated, if workable, because the class population probably will change and so may the insights of the pupils as they get older.

Once students begin to think and feel as members of a neighborhood certain behavior may become evident in their analyses of the usual curricular materials. They may ask basic questions such as, "How does the neighborhood (or family)" react to Presidential elections, or to urban renewal, highway construction, increased taxation, unemployment, sickness, death, and birth. They may begin to see the relevance of descriptions in literature and the meaning of scientific and technological applications.

Study of neighborhood leads to study of early ethnic settlements, or clusters of families. Pupils might be asked first about what family life is today; perhaps, they may share their feelings about what the family means to them. Urbanologists, historians, and other experts on family life can be quoted about the contributions of ethnic culture to whatever stability is left to city life. Changes in family life can be shown by contrasting say Hebrew, Puritan, Roman family life with modern industrial styles of family organization.

Gradually, the class may begin to see how family life styles reflect particular cultures. At that point, students may be ready to explore early ethnic family life. The nostalgic image calls forth "colorful" hard-working people, doing without, and making the best of it. One readily imagines how the mass media has proliferated this illusion. There were times of great hardship — long strikes, mining accidents, bouts with serious illnesses — all unrelieved by welfare programs of any kind. Thus, this context may help students to understand why families "stuck together" by pooling resources, participated in organizations of mutual self-help, sought to own their own home and plot of ground — and, of course, lived next door to people of their own ancestry, language, and tradition: subscribed to their own newspapers, contributed toward their own churches and viewed "outsiders" with some suspicion. Such "provincialism" existed among every ethnic group even those whose American ancestries went back several generations — until the automobile increased mobility, and other forms of industrialism took over.

Histories of early American families of all ethnic groups describe the essential cellular structure of our heritage. Recent demographic studies are making very early family experience available. Thus the class can engage in role definition of various cultures including early nineteenth century New England, Central European, Mediterranean, British and Irish, as compared with the same area family types in the 1900s and present. This is not as easy as it sounds because the role playing will have to demonstrate a time of year when specific activities took place. This means that a traditional feast (the makings of which still exists in publication and in practice) can serve as a point of departure.

A basic question is why people fixed certain foods and what practices in the kitchen, shop, or fields reveal about the culture. Perhaps some sense of independent spirit can be communicated as students realize how completely family-centered was the social, economic, aesthetic life of pre- and early industrial societies.

Like the exercise on the neighborhood the one on ethnic families is project-oriented and attempts (insofar as possible in the modern school system) to have the mode reflect content. Although dependent upon social science and science insights, this exercise emphasizes researching and writing scripts in order to enact tradition. (It would be quite relevant but extremely difficult to have dishes prepared, wood-carvings, needlework, tanning, tailoring, musical renditions, acrobatic performances, candle-making, flower making and arranging, dressmaking, gardening, mural painting, canning, weaving, quilting, caning, rug making, toy-making, meat curing (one hesitates to add wine and beer making though soda making was accomplished). It may be possible, however, to have the class track down ways of doing some of these among the various cultures and contrasting them. Such cross-cultural activity may be related to modern industrial techniques.

At this point — after focusing neighborhood and family contexts of ethnic experience — we may be ready to devise instructional objectives:

1) To have pupils demonstrate analytical skills in assessing their neighborhood and family life.

2) To enable them to use appropriate disciplinary techniques in researching this experience.

3) To have them formulate and accomplish specific projects to demonstrate comprehension of multi-cultural experience.

4) To have them relate findings of family and neighborhood to the larger forms of social organization of government, economics, education, technology, the mass media.

5) To have them comprehend through role and affective class experience family and nieghborhood situations which they have researched.

6) To have them demonstrate relevant disciplinary skills of research, composition, forming conclusions based upon evidence, and integration of aspects of cultural experience through thematic organization.

7) To have them understand in dialogue with each other, the teacher, and with elders (either actual or posited) activities in their cultural significance.

We can formulate the eighth objective — one crucial to all of modern learning — appreciation of the concept of change by analyzing and recreating specific and contextual effects. This can be done through case study techniques drawing closely, for instance, upon the previously described project: How and why did the family and neighborhood change? The question can be answered by recreating crucial periods in this area — ones somewhat within living memory like the 1920s, 1930s, the war years — or the late 1950s. Oral histories and books using oral history techniques may be used. If students are interested in the mass culture in the period, relevant newspaper ads, radio programs, stories, films, records, sports heroes may be discussed and perhaps viewed. Oral history accounts may be gathered from surviving relatives; pictures may be gathered to see hair and clothing styles, etc. Similarities and differences may be noted between the decades and especially if the early and preindustrial models are used as references. The change from a family and neighborhood to a mass economy can be seen in such ordinary things as processed foods, clothing styles, (even use of make-up), use of the automobile. Suddenly pupils may understand how the conflict between generations is one between cultures; they may even realize how different are the learning styles of early and later cultures; how important ancestral language study is to personal and national development; how much potential there is in self-understanding derived from cultural learning; how integral such learning is with American citizenship. We have much to explore.

Footnotes

1. Richard Slotkin, Regeneration Through Violence: *The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan U. Press, 1973), *passim*.

2. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning the True Original Extent and End of Civil Government* first pub. 1690 (Chicago: Great Books, 1952) p. 49.

3. *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy*, ed. Saul K. Padover (New York: New American Library, 1939) pp. 103-104.

4. See Henry David Thoreau's "Walking," which like the writings of Locke point to early Indian and European sources sources and anticipate the writings of someone like Mark Twain.

5. *Moby-Dick* or, *The Whale*, first pub. 1851 (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1964) pp. 165-166, ed. Charles Feidelson, Jr.

6. See, for example: James Marston Fitch, *American Building I: The Historical Forces that Shaped It* 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966) Chap. I.

7. "The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over," in *Summer Today*, ed. Maurice R. Davie (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971), p. 106.

8. Alexander Trachtenberg, *The History of the Protection of Coal Miners in Pennsylvania, 1824-1915* (New York: International Publishers, 1942), Chap. I.

9. John Highan, *Strangers in the Land, Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1969; first pub. ;1955), p. 317.

10. *Immigrants in Industries*, Vol. XVI Reports of the Immigration Commission (Washington, D.C.: Printing Office, 1910; Arno Reprint, 1970), p. 656.

11. Charles Myers, M.D., "The Organization of an Out-Patient Facility for Anthracosilicosis Project," Unpub. paper, p.1.

12. *Democracy in America*, Vol. 1, Reeve text; rev. by Bowen; ed. P. Bradley first Amer. ed. 1840 (New York: Vintage Books, 1954), p. 274-275.

13. *Race and Nationality in American Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor, 1957), pp. 74-111.

14. See Cynthia H. Enloe's typologies in *Ethnic Conflict and Political Development* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1913), p. 22-24.

15. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), p. 1.

16. "Ethnicity and Religion in Philadelphia Politics, 1924-40, *American Quarterly*, XXV (December, 1973), p. 499.

17. The previous quotes are taken from Enloe, *op. cit.*, p. 31. It is not surprising that ethnic religious backgrounds, for instance, of the Pennsylvania legislators during and after the Revolution influences their voting; See Owen S. Ireland, "The Ethnic-Religious Dimension of Pennsylvania Politics, 1778-1779," *William and Mary Q.* XXX (July, 1973), 423-448.

Footnotes (Cont'd.)

18. See Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Ethnicity, Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 26, 173.

19. Jacob Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man* (Boston: Little Brown and Company,1973), p. 437.

20. *Ibid*, p. 353. For further consideration see *The Validation of Scientific Theories*, ed. Philipp Frank (A.A. Collier Books, 1954), especially essays of Chap. 5, Science as a Social Science and Historical Phenomenon.

21. Don K. Price, *The Scientific Estate* (Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard U. Press, 1965), p. 107.

22. See Richard M. Dorson's essay "The Identification of Folklore in American Literature" in his *American Folklore and the Historian* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), Chap. XI. For an ethnic and cultural approach see the annotated bibliography contained in Daniel J. Dieterich, "Teaching Cultural Appreciation Through Literature," *English Journal*, LXI (Jan., 1972), pp. 142-147; for a specific essay about ethnicity in Literature see Peter G. Slater, "Ethnicity in *The Great Gatsby*, *Twentieth Century Literature*, XVIII (Jan. 1973), pp. 53-62.

23. Mario Puzo, "The Godfather Business," *New York* (August 21, 1972), pp. 22-30.

24. William A. Hunter, *Multicultural Education Through Competency-Based Teacher Education* (Washington, D.C.: AACTE, 1974), p. 15.

25. See Mark Krug's essay "Teaching the Experience of White Ethnic Groups" in *Teaching Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies*, James A. Banks Ed. (Washington, D.C.: National Consul for the Social Studies; 43rd Yearbook, 1973), p. 267.

26. Mildred Dickeman, "Teaching Cultural Pluralism," in Banks, *Ibid*, pp. 14-17.

27. There are, of course, many fine and growing collections of ethnic historical materials such as in Pennsylvania: The Balch Institute in Philadelphia or The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in Harrisburg.

28. Christopher Jencks, et.al. *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

TEACHING ETHNICITY: WHAT, WHY, AND HOW

by

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I come before you to ask and to try to answer these basic questions. What is ethnicity? Why should we study it? And how should we study it? Of course, the suggestion of the latter two questions presupposses a satisfactory answer to the previous ones. I would expect you all to endure my first topic. Further endurance will be interpreted as a tentative endorsement of what came before.

I come before you today, not as an expert in the history of one Ethnic group or of one phase of the ethnic question. I leave that to my various associates in the program. I do not come even as an historian of ethnicity in America, though I might qualify for that description. I come primarily as a teacher speaking to teachers. I come, I hope, with some ideas which you might use to introduce your students to the role of the ethnics in America. I come with some ideas of the problems you may encounter in teaching this subject, either as a special course, as a unit in one of your courses, or as supplementary for your general classes. I come convinced that ethnicity is an important subject for our students to understand if they are to grasp the meaning of the American experience and I come aware that it is a difficult subject to teach. I hope that some of my ideas will prove helpful in your attempt to grasp the reality of America and, more important, that they might help you convey your understanding effectively to your students.

I begin my discussion of ethnic studies with what my debating background tells me should be the first order of business--a matter of definition. In the context of American history, who are the ethnics? The easiest answer proclaims that the ethnics are immigrants and their descendants. But like most easy answers, this one fails to convey sufficient meaning. Though Oscar Handlin has observed that "immigrants were American History",[1] and Franklin Roosevelt expressed this reality with tongue in cheek when he addressed the Daughters of the American Revolution as immigrants and revolutionists;[2] we cannot see all Americans as ethnics. Another definition seems necessary.

I define ethnics as those European immigrants and their descendents who in their time and place in history considered themselves united by a common national origin which they considered or which was considered apart from the dominant American majority. Certain elements of this definition require exposition.

I limit the ethnics to Europeans and their descendants as a recognition that racial prejudices, a reality in American life, are more deep seated, more pervasive, and more destructive than the equally real religious and nationalistic prejudices which are part of ethnic consciousness. Because similarities exist between some of the effects of racial, religious, and nationalistic prejudices, ethnic and racial history ought to be studied in tandem. But the prejudices and their effects cannot be equated. When Americans stated their hope to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, religion, and color, they did not engage in redundancy. They listed in the order of increasing intensity their basic prejudices. In that context, race meant nationality or national origin. Religion meant sect, and color meant continental origin. In certain discussions you might include Blacks, Indians, Chinese, and Japanese Americans as ethnics, but more often than not, such inclusions would require a great deal of restatement of the generalizations which can be made about the White ethnics. Perhaps my exclusion of non-whites is arbitrary. It is done for scholarly purposes. It is not malicious. It is practical and I believe it is defensible.

The phrase, "In their time and place in history", gives recognition to the fact that changing forces in American life have moved people in and out of the American ethnic community. For instance, the original concept of ethnics in America applied to Protestant immigrants from Scotland and Ireland.[3] These "Un-English people were accepted into the English colonies because of a labor shortage (the classic reason for the acceptance of "unacceptable strangers). They were subject to social, legal, and economic discrimination. Though not in the same category as the racial minorities, especially the Blacks, they were clearly not part of the dominant group. By the end of the eighteenth century, at the time of the American Revolution, a highwater point in American liberalism, the concept of the dominant community seemed broad indeed. Foreign born Americans with patriotic sympathies felt little or no discrimination. This also applied to native White Americans despite their national origin or religious persuasion. One need only look at Time Magazine's, July 4, 1776, edition to see the number of foreign born patriots who shaped the Revolution as Americans, not as ethnics.[4] One could consider also the lack of religious prejudice at that point in American history. The Deists, Jefferson and Franklin, the Quakers, Nathaniel Greene and Horatio Gates, the Catholics, Father John Carroll and Commodore John Barry were accepted as part of the dominant group, chiefly because their politics were more important than their religion.

The arrival of large numbers of Catholic immigrants, chiefly from Ireland and Germany after 1830, stirred sufficient economic and religious prejudice to return the Protestant qualification for membership in the American majority. Large numbers of Scandanavians and German Protestants in the 1840's and thereafter helped to create an "English Speaking" requirement for membership in the dominant community.

The third wave of immigration chiefly from Eastern and Southern Europe commenced about 1880 and altered the concept of the dominant and ethnic communities. At this time the WASP concept of the American majority became most important. I would mention one more example of the changes in the concept of the dominant and ethnic community. Certainly no group of White Americans can claim longer residence in America, more clearly Anglo-Saxon origins, more pronounced adherance to American Protestantism, than the residents of Southern Appalachia, the Ozarks, and the other rural communities. Yet, when as part of the Fourth Wave of Immigration, these "Hill Billies" migrate to American cities, they become a distinct ethnic group. The concept of ethnicity must be considered fluidly. It must be placed in time and space to have meaning for our study.

The positive element on my definition of ethnics as people who considered themselves united by a common national origin needs explanation. First, the ethnic consciousness was frequently formed in America. For example, when Tevya and his family in "Fiddler on the Roof" faced migration to America as a result of Czarist pograms, they did not anticipate finding themselves part of a community of "Russian Jews". What they did expect was to "search high and low for an old familiar face from Anatevka."[5] In reality, however, the millions of Tevyas had to build communities in America on bases broader than that of the familiar village. Few immigrants thought themselves as Poles or Irish or Germans. More likely they considered themselves Poznaniaks or Corkonians or Bavarians.[6] In America they developed the concept and the institutions of ethnic identity---usually on basis broad enough to support a community with all its necessary institutions. Thus, if as in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, sufficient numbers of Italian speaking Tyroleans, came together in one place and were able to form a community, they were Tyroleans rather than Italians. Other Tyrolean migrants in other parts of the country found it necessary to identify themselves as Italians or even as Austrians. For most of the immigrants and their descendants, the ethnic identification resulted from American conditions. Membership in an ethnic group was the result of both self identification and acceptance.[7]

Ethnic identification depended neither on place of birth (the high degree of two stage migration makes this point very important), nor on citizenship either at the time of migration or birth, nor on European political developments since 1920. Ethnic identification is an association with a national group felt both by the individual ethnic and recognized (positively or negatively) by others.

In the qualification of my definition, "who considered themselves or were considered apart from the dominant American majority", the phrase either/or is important. Some groups of Americans might seem to all the world to be part of the American majority, yet they are not. I think immediately of the Welsh. They are British in origin, Protestant in religion, English speaking for generations. The dominant community places no obstacle for admitting the Welsh to membership. Yet if a Welsh-American thinks of himself as such, he is an ethnic and no amount of acceptance by the dominant community can deny him of his ethnicity.

On the other hand, one cannot wish his way into the American majority. Jack Kennedy's wealth, his Harvard education, savoir faire, and political power did not erase his ethnicity in the minds of millions of Americans.

The concept of "the dominant community" has changed in response to various circumstances. And so has the concept of ethnicity changed. The period of the American Revolution was one in which the widest definition of the dominant community and the narrowest definition of the ethnic community prevailed in the minds of America. It further seems that the last forty years have seen a great expansion of the dominant group in the minds of most Americans. Among the reasons for this has been the increasing tendency toward intermarriage of ethnic and religious groups, the widespread literacy in English of most American ethnics, the reaction against the religious prejudices of Adolf Hitler, and the success of many ethnics in convincing most Americans that their differences are not destructive. I think this point can best be made by looking at national politics in the last fifteen years.

When the Democratic Party nominated an ethnic politician for the presidency of the United States in 1960, they ignited a national debate. In that debate, both open and covert, anti and pro ethnic prejudices played an important role in determining the votes of millions of Americans. Kennedy's narrow victory and his "acceptable" presidency as well as his assassination, helped to minimize ethnic and religious prejudices. In every national election since 1960, one or both parties has nominated ethnic politicians for national office and the country has paid little attention to the ethnic or religious background of the candidates. Thus, in 1964 the Republicans nominated Barry Goldwater, grandson of an immigrant of Jewish peddler, and William Miller, a conservative "Notre Dame" Roman Catholic. The Goldwater-Miller team went to defeat, though no one suggested the ethnic background of the candidates played any significant role in their defeat.

In 1968, both parties nominated the sons of Third Wave East European immigrants for Vice-President--Spiro T. Agnew, and Edmund S. Muskie. Aside from a few comments of pride in the Greek and Polish communities, the ethnic origins of these candidates seemed unimportant to most Americans. In 1972, Agnew repeated for the Republicans. When the Democrats finally found a vice presidential candidate, he was a member of an ethnic minority. By 1974, the voters had chosen a Greek-American Governor of Massachusetts, an Italian American Governor of Connecticut, a Franco-American Governor of Rhode Island, and Irish-American Governors of New York, New Jersey, and California, Jewish-American Governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and Chicano Governors of New Mexico and Arizona.[8] These successful politicians quite clearly fulfill my definition of ethnics. That definition in 1975 does not necessarily imply negative prejudices on the part of most Americans.

Having supplied a definition of the ethnics, I turn to the difficult problem of justifying the study of ethnicity in contemporary America.

The prejudices which give rise to ethnic consciousness betray the proclamation of America's major statements of purpose. The recognition of ethnicity is a recognition of differences among people in a nation which proclaimed as self evident the truth that "All men are created equal." The fact of ethnicity is a fact of diversity in a nation which set as its first purpose the creation "of a more perfect union". Native, establishment Americans, have frequently tried to erase ethnicity by "Americanizing" the "foreigners". Ethnics, particularly, second generation ethnics, have tried to deny the cultural elements which make them "different". I am sure you will run into this problem in presenting ethnicity in your courses. Either your students, your colleagues, or your supervisors, may discourage these studies as irrelevant or devisive, or destructive. You must have a solid basis of knowledge to meet objections and to present ethnicity fairly, effectively, and beneficially. I might demonstrate one aspect of this problem with a true story. Last fall I was teaching a course in American Social History and had covered a unit on nativism. I had discussed both the economic origins of nativism and the so-called "intellectual" basis for it--Social Darwinism. In an examination I asked my students to analyze the justification for the nativist movement presented by W(hite) A(nglo) S(axon) P(rotestants) at the turn of the twentieth century. One of my best students whose name might have been McGillicuddy, or Frascitti, or Grzybowski, began his essay in this way: "We felt. . ." I had certainly failed to convey the ethnic concept. The Americanizers had succeeded so well that he had no concept of not belonging to the WASP majority. Perhaps that demonstrates the success of some of the ethnics in America and of the American system. But it also demonstrates a difficulty in teaching ethnic studies.

The opposite problem presents itself as well. In developing ethnic consciousness, in dealing with both the successes and the failures of the ethnic groups in America, in exposing the exploitation of the ethnics by the established population, there is a danger of reviving negative prejudices long buried. I know in my own case, the study of the potato famine in Ireland, of the inaction of the British government, the study of the migration of the Irish in dangerous sailing vessels, and of their experiences in the coal mining area, led me to feelings of resentment and bigotry directed toward the perpetrators of those horrors, resentment which might be applied to their innocent descendants. I can not see a picture of eight year old breaker boys outside the mines of this area without feeling anger. It takes maturity not to misapply that anger. Ethnic studies, done without maturity and balance, could do more harm than good. I think it is the vital responsibility of the teacher to provide that balance and maturity in his presentation. To provide it he must develop it himself.

If this is true, if some would dismiss the study of ethnicity in America as irrelevent or destructive, why should we bother? What possible purpose is served by such studies? (I present these questions rhetorically, convinced that you have already come to accept the validity of ethnic studies). I present my answer primarily for you to consider when you argue for the integration of ethnic studies in your school's curriculum or when you try to convince your students of its validity.

The first, most basic and most convincing answer is that the study of ethnicity in America is essential to grasp the truth of the American reality. America is not a "melting pot" where cultures are stewed till they evaporate. No period in American history and few phases of it can be well understood without serious study of the contribution of ethnics as ethnics and without a serious study of the problems raised by ethnics as ethnics. This applies to our political, social, economic, diplomatic, military, intellectual, and religious history. Let me make the point with a few examples.

The political history of the United States requires an understanding of ethnicity to explain major changes in our political processes. As J. Joseph Huthmacker and others have demonstrated the interpretation of the first reform era of the twentieth century which dismiss the ethnic masses and their leaders as major contributors to reform miss a vital point.[9] The second and third reform movements also had heavy support from the urban ethnic politician and their votes. And these ethnic politicians include more important figures than the lovable scoundrel of Edwin O' Connor's, The Last Hurrah, or the less lovable ethnic leaders depicted in Steinberg's, The Bosses.[10] Ethnic political leaders such as Charles Francis Murphy, David J. Lewis, Fiorello La Guardia, Francis J. Myers, Alfred E. Smith, David Lawrence, Thomas Walsh, Richard J. Daley, and a whole brace of Kennedys have changed the American political scene.[11] In many cases they have acted as ethnics for ethnics with important implications for all America.

In America economic history, the role of the ethnics as ethnics in the development of an industrial society cannot be neglected. A simple but obvious example is the development of the American Labor movement--basically an ethnic phenomenon in the past and the present. Wayne Broehl has well demonstrated the role of ethnicity in the Molly Maguire Struggle.[12] Victor Greene has admirably demonstrated the importance of ethnicity in the development of the first successful industrial union, the United Mine Workers.[13] Indeed the list of the most important American Labor leaders sounds like an Ethnic Hall of Fame: Terrence Powderly, Samuel Gompers, John L. Mitchell, John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, William Greene, David Dubinsky, I.W. Abel, Sidney Hillman, David MacDonald and George Meany. The combination of the ethnic labor leaders and ethnic politicians has led to the development of labor as a major countervailing power in industrial America.

The influence of the ethnics as ethnics in American foreign policy can be mentionbriefly. The pressure American Jews and American Greeks have brought upon our government to support the states of Israel and Cypress are only the latest in a series of efforts by American ethnics to influence old world affairs. According to Thomas Brown, the Irish American community played a major role, through the government, to win home rule for Ireland.[15]Italians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Poles, Ukranians, and Cubans have used their influence as ethnic voters and lobbyists to affect American foreign policy.

Perhaps nowhere,is the contribution of ethnics as ethnics, more clear and more impressive than it is in American intellectual history. In every phase of our cultural history--literature, music, painting, architecture, drama, the dance, the cinema, ethnic Americans have led the way to American cultural heights. When you consider the American novel you must recognize the vital contributions of ethnics writing as ethnics about ethnics. From the monumental novels of Ole Rølvaag, the syrupy but revealing works of Edna Ferber, the searing novels of James T. Farrell, and the insightful studies of Edwin O'Connor to the contemporary contributions of Philip Roth and Mario Puzo, America has revealed her diversified life through her diversified literature.

In the world of music and the dance America, the haven of ethnics, has attracted, encouraged, and developed first rate musicians--both composers and performers. Most of them are ethnic Americans--Sigmund Romberg, Giancarlo Menotti, Oscar Hammerstein, Aaron Copeland, George Gershwin, Enrico Caruso, Artur Rubenstein, Arturo Toscannini, Leonard Bernstein, Benny Goodman, the Dorsey Brothers, musical comedy, and jazz swing, are all really ethnic phenomena in America.

Thus, the first and most important justification for the study of ethnicity is the essential importance of the ethnic contribution. Certainly we do not claim that all American contribution are those of ethnics, but many are. To neglect them or to "Americanize" their ethnicity is to destroy history.

A second vital reason for the study of ethnicity is its contemporary social significance. As I mentioned earlier in this talk, recognition of ethnic differences demonstrates the existence of prejudice (this can be a positive or a negative prejudice depending on the judgment made, but it is a prejudice nonetheless). Many of the prejudices associated with ethnicity in America have either weakened, disappeared, or have been eradicated. But prejudices still exist. Some of the most deep seated of these prejudices stem from the problem of racism. I am not suggesting that nonwhite groups can escape from the ghettoes created by three hundred and fifty years of racial prejudice, by exactly the same methods used by the ethnics to escape from their ghettos. There are differences in the ethnic and racial problems in America. But a study of ethnicity can help develop a sense of history, of tolerance, and of change. America's racial minorities might draw some important lessons from the methods used by ethnic minorities to force some form of acceptance from the dominant community. A realization by the ethnics of the exploitation of their ancestors and of the effects of prejudgments might cause the ethnics to rethink their own racial prejudices. A well presented history of the efforts of the "exploitation of *my* people" could lesson or eliminate a willingness to participate in or tolerate "exploitation of *those* people."

A third reason for the study of ethnicity in contemporary America is that the phenomena which produced ethnic America--immigration--continues. We delude ourselves if we believe that the Immigration Restriction Acts of 1921 and 1924 ended large-scale immigration to this country. We are all aware of the presence here of refugees from political persecution--the European Jews and other escapees from Hitler's holocaust, of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters of 1956 and Czech and Slovak emigres of 1968, of the exiles from Castro's Cuba--and most recently, of the displaced people of Southeast Asia. These are new ethnics in America. And they are encountering many of the same reactions and obstacles that greeted the famine Irish, the German 48'ers, and the victims of the Czar's pogram. You need only read the letters to the editors of small town newspapers about the Vietnamese immigration. You need only listen to the native workers worried about low paid competition, to get a lesson in American nativism. Immigration continues and so does the negative reaction to it.

In addition to these refugees, come tens of thousands of others. Many of them, French Canadians and Mexicans, for example, walk (or drive) into America for the same reasons our ancestors came by sail or steamboat. To find a job. Most of them find what our ancestors found--low paying, back breaking jobs, inadequate and overcrowded housing, and the negative prejudice of the dominant community. Immigration continues and so does the negative reaction to it.

To these we must add the illegal immigrants who come into our country at a rate estimated at 500,000 to 850,000 per year. They come from Asia and Africa and Latin America, as stowaways or with forged papers. They find refuge in the ghettoes of America. (It is estimated that the population of New York's Chinatown has doubled in the last decade--much of the increase from illegal immigration). These people must face the problems of all immigrants, plus the pressure of hiding from the law. Immigration continues and so does the reaction to it.

A final group of immigrants are drawn to the magnet of America's cities--the internal immigrants--American citizens abandoning rural America for real or imagined economic opportunities presented in our cities. Whether these are Blacks from the Deep South, Indians from reservations, Puerto Ricans from their tropic island, or White Anglo-Saxon Protestants from Appalachia or the Ozarks, they are migrants and they are ethnics. They face the same problems and opportunities (albeit in different circumstances) as the Sicilians, or Poles, or Norwegians, who came two generations ago.

For three basic reasons--the substantial contribution of ethnicity, the social significance of the escape from the ghetto, and the contemporary problems, and the opportunities raised by and for the newest ethnics, the study of ethnicity in America is justified.

Having established and explained my definition of an ethnic and having presented the major justifications for the study of ethnicity, I come now to a consideration of some of the substantial problems of presenting ethnic material. As a generalization, I would say that if my students have any ideas about ethnicity, those ideas are more frequently based on myth than fact. It will be your responsibility to help them substitute fact for myth.

If I were teaching ethnicity as a unit, I would start in Europe. I have found that most of my students have preserved an amazing ignorance of European history and geography. You find them using the terms English and British synonymously or confusing the Balkans with the Baltic. I would give them a list of thirty-five ethnic groups, and ask them to place them on an outline may of Europe. This exercise helps the students to become familiar with the map of Europe, and begin to grasp the diversity of European population which migrated to America.

I would then turn to the question of the social origins of the immigrants. Here a number of myths prevail. A good number of Americans feel that their ancestors were "the kings, chiefs, and princess" of the old country while others think with Dr. Johnson that the Americans are the waste of British saloons and jails, or, as Emma Lazuras put it, "the wretched refuge of (Europe's) teeming shores."

As a matter of fact, common sense would indicate, and scholarship has proved, that with some exceptions, neither of these myths stand up. Except in cases of unusual political persecution, such as the French or Russian Revolutions, or for a few unusual individuals, members of Europe's upper classes had little reason to leave their homeland and fortune for the uncertainties of life in America. Indeed, as Thomas Wertenbaker has effectively demonstrated, the First Families of Virginia were descended from lower middle class Englishman rather than from the Cavalier aristocracy.[16] Almost every study of the social origins of the immigrants confirm that the upper class contribution to immigration was negligible.

The opposite myth, that the migrants came as the wretched refuge of Europe, also defies common sense and scholarship. Coming to America and settling here, took a certain amount of investment--an investment which could not be made by the totally destitute. Although there are exceptions, (the most notable being the vast majority of "famine Irish" who fled their native island blindly and without resources,[17]) the majority of migrants came from the peasant class with sufficient resources to make the calculated decision involved in migration.[18] They were people who, feeling some sort of pressure to leave, usually economic, were able to sell or exchange resources to establish themselves abroad. Granted, many received aid from relatives either in Europe or in America or subsidies,(in the form of cheap transportation) from American and European industrialists, but most had some resources at their disposal.

It is necessary to consider the motivation for migration. Again the teacher must deal with myths--the myth that most (or many) came to find religious freedom in America, the myth that they came with expectation of finding gold in the streets, the myth that the most basic motive was to secure the blessing of political "liberty for themselves and their posterity".

Certainly one cannot dismiss all these myths as totally without foundation. From the seventeenth to the twentieth century, victims of religious persecutions, have found refuge in America. Examples include the Radical Anabaptists persecuted by both Catholic and Lutheran aristocrats, German Catholics, (in the period of Bismarck 's Kulturkampf) or Russian Jews (in the late 19th century and early 20th century pograms). But the religious motive cannot account for more than a small percentage of the 35 million migrants. Most European peasants lived in areas where their religion was the accepted religion, or at least an accepted religion. The religious diversity of the United States more often confused than consoled the migrants.

The myth of Streets of Gold implies an ignorance of American conditions not warranted by the facts. Most of the migrants had a good knowledge of conditions in America resultant both from letters from relatives already resident in the United States or from advertisements of American governments or firms.[19] This knowledge may not have been complete or perfectly accurate but few migrants genuinely expected instant fortunes to follow their movements to the United States.

The attraction of political liberty probably played a small role in the decision to migrate. Most peasants had little experience with or concern for political participation.

Though American political processes would provide them with an avenue to power, this apparently did not serve as a major stimulus to migration.[20]

Quite clearly the chief factor which spurred migration was demographic -- what I call the disturbance of the land-population ratio. Peasant society demanded demographic stability. Whenever that stability was altered, a need for migration (first internal, then external) occurred. Such a disturbance usually resulted from increases in population. (I would show my students statistical studies of Europe.)[21] But other factors might explain how the peasants were pushed from their villages. For example, the enclosure movement in 17th century England did not create a larger population. It did disturb the land population ratio in the countryside. Displaced peasants, pushed off their land, had to find new places in society. In this case and in the more numerous cases of disturbances resultant from increased population, the first move would be toward cities in the old country. Only when the development of industrialized European societies did not keep pace with agricultural departures, did large scale migration to America occur.

As teachers we cannot neglect such "pushes" as religious persecution, political pressures (including the move toward compulsorary military service at the end of the 19th century), or agricultural disasters such as famines, but we should emphasize the "push" of demographic changes.

In addition to presenting the European motivation for migration, we must also explain the attraction of America, especially the economic attraction--the "pull" of America as "Distant Magnet". This procedure can help students understand the basic developments of American economic history as well as the procedures by which the ethnics began their contributions to American life. Analyses of the changing attractions more than the different geographic and cultural background of the ethnics help explain the "four waves" of migration.

The first wave of migrants came from the early 17th century till about 1830 primarily from Britain. They responsed to the free, more frequently cheap land available in this agricultural economy. These immigrants formed the basis of America's White English Speaking Protestant majority and the backbone of America's old stock. In this first wave we must include the immigrants from Africa who constituted one of the largest and oldest population clusters in American society. (I refrain from referring to them as ethnics for reasons cited above). Both the white British and the Black Africans were pulled here by agriculture.

About 1830 new forces in America joined with the old attraction of cheap land. The transportation revolution associated with the application of steam power to boats and trains accounted for a startling alteration in the American economy. To impress my students with the magnitude of this transformation, I have them think about the ingredients which went into that system. I ask them to imagine the number of trees which had to be felled, cut, treated, and transported to be laid on prepared railbeds. I ask them to think about the iron which had to be mined, moved, and moulded to provide the engines and cars for the American railroad. I ask them to consider the amount of steel which laced this nation. And, especially in this area, I ask them to think about the coal which had to be mined, separated, cleaned, and moved to fuel both the trains and the blast furnaces of the original industries.

From all that material consideration I turn to the human element--to the laborers who chopped the trees, laid the beds, placed the rails, and dug the coal. With this concentration on labor, you have set the background for the second wave of immigration--made up not only of British peoples but not including huge numbers of Irish, Germans, and Scandanavians. I trace the migrants seeking the farms of old America and,many of them, especially the Irish, Welsh and German Catholics, finding their niche in the industries, associated with transportation. While the land still drew the migrants (the frontier was not closed till 1890), the new industries drew more.

The transition from the second to the third phase of immigration began by 1880. The development of American industry and the commercialization of agriculture, profoundly altered the American "pull" for migrants. Though most European peasants still sought to continue their agricultural experience in America, and though some of them did "make it" in agriculture, the third wave primarily found an urban, industrial setting.[22] Like the previous wave this one contained large numbers from Britain, Ireland, Germany, and Scandanavia, but millions came from Southern and Eastern Europe. To established Americans, including those of the second wave, these new groups seemed to be quite different. There were differences in religion (almost all these immigrants were Roman or Orthodox Catholics or Jews), and differences in language (Romance and Slavic families). Because they came on the steam ships rather than the sailing vessels of the first or second wave, their separation from the old country was not so deeply burned into their souls. Especially among the East Europeans, there was a high rate of literacy in their native languages. But these new Americans experienced more similarities than differences with their predecessors. They came from the same social classes, for the same basic reasons. The antagonism which they encountered from the dominant community and from the older ethnics led to deep exploitation and finally to immigration restriction.

The immigration restrictions laws of the 1920's did not end the migration story. It merely brought a close to the third wave and opened the fourth--the refugees, illegal immigrants and internal immigrants who today fill the places once held by the famine Irish, the Kulturkampf Germans, the Pogram Russians.[23]

There is so much material to consider about the ethnics in America that I can only hint about general topics. The most impressive fact that I have discovered in my studies about the ethnics, is the remarkable similarities of experiences among the groups who became part of urban America. The time of migration, the cultural background, the level of education, the amount of preparation for the American experience, made little difference in the reaction of America to the ethnics or vice versa. I think we must teach our students three basic facts about the ethnics in urban America.

First, they were received here begrudgingly as necessary cheap laborers. The titans of industry who were the chief American sponsors of immigration, paid them as little as possible for their labor. As a result of their ensuing poverty, they experienced all the evils associated with urban poverty--overcrowded, unsanitary housing, widespread disease, alcoholism, drug addiction, family instability, crime alienation, desperation, and insanity. One need only read Oscar Handlin's study of Boston's Immigrants (chiefly Irish) in pre-Civil War America to capture the whole story.[24] Jacob Riis's, How the Other Half Lives, tells the same story in the 1890's.[25] Michael Harrington's, The Other America, or Handlin's, The Newcomers, make the same point.[26] The horror of ghetto dwelling was a reality faced and endured by most groups of the urban ethnics. Neither the causes of these problems, nor their solutions, can be found in racial or ethnic explanations. Our students must appreciate the experiences of their ancestors, if they are to appreciate ethnic history. Those experiences were unpleasant, damned unpleasant, perhaps even more unpleasant than the experiences of Europe. We must present the reality of those circumstances.

Despite the horrors of these experiences, the working ethnics account in large measure for the remarkable wealth production associated with the American industrial revolution. This, indeed, is the major contribution of the ethnics to this country--more important than their music or their food or their literature or their inventions. In such a full sense Carl Wittke correctly captured the contribution of the ethnic when he titled his book on them, We Who Built America.[27] When conveying to our students the debt this nation owes to the ethnics, I think we should concentrate, not on the few famous who escaped from the ghetto spectacularly, but on the many who may have stayed there or moved to the streetcar suburbs, and who daily built this country with their sweat.

In this building process, they received little share in the wealth they produced. They did win the emnity of their fellow workers--either native born Americans, or more established ethnics. I think it is important for the teacher of ethnic history to present nativism as a most important fact in the ethnic experience. It seems to me that we must present this picture fully by analyzing its origin as well as discussing its manifestations.

The origins of nativism were primarily economic. These strangers in our land had lower workers' bargaining power and did impede effective organization. The "backlash" of the more established working class--primarily rooted in economic purposes--found varities of expression. I might suggest a way I have used to educe this point from my students.

At the beginning of class, apparently out of a clear blue sky, I come in and discuss the problems of the inhabitants of West Africa, or Bangladesh, or Southeast Asia. I point out that millions face starvation in the next few years, and suggest that in the light of our Christian and liberal proclamations (All men are brother in Christ and all men are created equal), we should support a program to bring as many as want to come to this country. I estimate that about a million a year would be a likely figure. Pro-rating that across the nation, I explain that this would mean 10,000 per year for Wyoming Valley. Would the students support my program?

Immediately the responses come. We have unemployment already, insufficient housing, too many of "our own" people on welfare. "Those people" wouldn't speak our language, couldn't cope with our school system, couldn't fit in. Some outspoken students might point out we've got "too many colored people here already", or say that the religious diffferences or Moslems, or Hindu, or "pagans", would create too many problems. After hearing all these arguments, and naively trying to counter them with the most banal liberal forms, I say it's time to return to the subject matter of the course. I then begin a discussion of nativism directed against Irish and German Catholics in the 1840's, and the Eastern and Southern European Catholics and Jews in the 1890's. The point almost always seems clearly made.

Because the ethnics did pose an economic threat to the American working class because of their differences of language, customs, and religion, they seemed to threaten "our" way of life. Frequently the anti-immigration people were reluctant to express their antagonism in terms that seemed too selfish. So they rationalized in the name of "Americanism," "Protestantism," and "WASPism." It is very important to teach the students that this nativistic movement always had support from the establisthed ethnics. The institutions of America dominated by ethnics, chiefly the Roman Catholic Church and labor unions, experienced schisms and were threatened with widespread defections because of "nativism" among the ethnics. Indeed the intense antagonism directed against 4th wave immigrants by 3rd wave immigrants have their parallels in early American history. Bigotry is not an exclusive characteristic of established Americans.

From the horrors of ghetto living and working conditions and the traumas caused by nativist, social, economic, and political persecution, it is necessary to move to a more upbeat topic--the escape from the ghetto. Here a consideration of generations seems appropriate. First generation American immigrants of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th waves show many similar characteristics. They generally tried to preserve as much of the old ways as possible. They clung tenaciously to their religion and sought to practice it in the old way (the ethnic churches were terribly important to them). They sought to preserve as much as possible family patterns, discouraging marriages outside the group. They sought to maintain their language and pass it on to their children. They had close associations with the old country and frequently wrote to relatives, frequently sent money home. They who made the calculated decision to come to America had in that act shown themselves as revolutionaries. But in this country they seemed to have spent their revolutionary fervor.

The second generation ethnic is probably most conscious of the struggle to become American. Educated either in the public or parochial schools, he found the English language essential to communication and escape. Though he usually was capable of speaking the old language, he did so infrequently. (Often only to fight or to curse). While recognizing himself as Irish or Polich, or German, he sought to think of himself as American and fought to win recognition as such from outside the group. He did maintain the old religion, usually in the ethnic churches, but sought even here more and more English. He usually married inside the group, almost always inside the religion.

By the time the third generation grew up, the connection with the group was nostalgic, but not essential. Few of them could speak the old language but many could "understand if they spoke slowly" and most could curse in it. These people think of themselves as Americans and presume that others accept them as such. They had little reluctance to marry outside the group. Indeed they increasingly married outside the religion though they generally practiced the old religion. Third generation ethnics belonged to the ethnic association of their grandfathers--the Sons of Italy, the Ancient Order of Hiberians, the Slovak Sokols, but they saw these purely as social activities.

The fourth generation ethnics, and frequently these are your students and mine, have little ethnic consciousness. They really don't understand the importance of their ancestral language, religion, or culture. In losing these they have lost almost all that their great grandfathers strove so mightily to preserve. They have, of course, gained many other things undreamed of by their great grandfathers.

In bringing this lengthy consideration to a conclusion, I would hint at a way by which the ordinary ethnics have managed to alleviate the ghetto condition, if not to escape from the ghetto entirely. The most important institution for relief and escape for the ethnic has been the Church. Whether Roman, or orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish, the ethnic has found in his religion a way of survival, a meaning for existence. One need only put his imagination to work when he considers the number of churches, schools, convents, rectories, orphanages, old-folks homes, hospitals, etc. built and supported by the ethnic communities. Not only were these a source of success, they were a source of pride. To underestimate the role of the Church in the American ethnic experience is to miss a vital point.

The benevolent associations, forerunners of labor unions, insurance companies, and social outlets deserve study. Our students must realize the degree to which their ancestors took their own future into their hands and moulded it.

The labor movement in America provided not only a major instrument for the amelioration of economic problems, but proved to be the way in which the ethnics most effectively changed America. The history of American labor is, for the most part, the history of the ethnic masses on the move.

The political field was another in which the ethnics operated effectively to alleviate their condition and to improve American life. It seems to me that the most significant social legislation of the past half century--including the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1929, the Wagner Act, Social Security Act, and Tax Act of 1935, the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, and the GI Bill of 1944--were inspired by ethnics for ethnics. The success of the ethnic politicans already mentioned in this paper, demonstrated very clearly ethnic power and ethnic accomplishments.

Finally there are the "quick fixes" which, while less significant in themselves than other accomplishments of the ethnic communities, seem to stimulate student interest. Successes in sports, the theatre, the movies, individual gains in science, technology, and business are too numerous to mention. These individual accomplishments, probably the best known phase of ethnic history, are readily available to you in many of the standard works of ethnicity.[28]

My own studies in ethnic history have convinced me and I am sure this course will convince you of the tremendous importance of ethnicity in American life and of the necessity to incorporate it along with racial history, into our teaching of every facet of American civilization. The story of the ethnics is a story of suffering and change, of exploitation and success, of persecution and escape, of problems and opportunities. It is not the whole of American history. It is an essential part of it.

Footnotes

1. Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migration That Made the American People, 2nd. ed. (Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1973), p.3.

2. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Address to the Daughters of the American Revolution," 21 April 1938, Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, ed by Samuel I. Roseman. (New York: Mac Millan, 1938-50) vol. VII, p. 258.

3. Winthrop D. Jordon, White Over Black: American Attitudes towards the Negro, 1550-1812 (Baltimore: Penquen Books, Incorporated, 1968), pp. 85-91.

4. Time Incorporated: Time: Special 1776 Issue: Independence (New York: Little Brown and Company, 1975), passim.

5. Jerry Bock, "Anatevka," Fiddler on the Roof (New York: Crown Publishers, 1964), p. 100.

6. Handlin, The Uprooted, p. 166.

7. Ibid., pp 152-79.

8. The Governors are Michael Dukakis (Massachusetts), Ella Grasso (Connecticut), Philip Noel (Rhode Island), Milton Shapp (Pennsylvania). Marvin Mandel (Maryland), Hugh Carey (New York), Brendan Byrne (New Jersey), Edmund Brown, Jr. (California), Jerry Apodaca (New Mexico), and Raul Castro (Arizona).

9. J. Joseph Huthmaker, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 49 (September, 1962), 231-41 and John D. Buenker, Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform (New York: Scribners, 1973).

10. Alfred Steinberg, The Bosses (New York: MacMillan, 1972).

11. Mike Royko, Boss (New York: Dutton, 1971), Arthur Mann, LaGuardia: A Fighter Against His Time (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1959), Oscar Handlin, Al Smith and His America (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1958), J. Joseph Hutchmacker, Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberlism (New York: Atheneum, 1968), Dorothy Waymar, David I. Walsh: Citizen and Patriot (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1952), Josephine O'Keane, Thomas J. Walsh: A Senator From Montana (Francestown, New Hampshire: M. Jones Company, 1955).

12. Wayne Broehl, The Molly Maguires (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

13. Victor Greene, The Slavic Community on Strike (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1968).

15. Thomas Browne, Irish American Nationalism, 1870-1890 (Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott, 1966).

16. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebian in Virginia (New York: Russell, 1959), passim.

17. Cecil Woodham-Smith, The Great Hunger: Ireland, 1845-1849 (New Yonk: New American

Footnotes Continued

Library, 1962), pp. 200-266.

18. Philip Taylor, The Distant Magnet: European Immigration to the United States (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 91-106.

19. Ibid., pp. 66-90.

20. Handlin, The Uprooted, pp. 180-202.

21. A. J. P. Taylor, The Struggle for Mastery in Europe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. XIX-XXXVI.

22. Ole E. Rølvaag, Giants in the Earth: A Saga of the Prairee (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927), passim.

23. Oscar Handlin, The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1959.

24. Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation, rev. and enlarged ed. (New York: Atheneum, 1968), pp. 88-123.

25. Jacob Riis, How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York (Williamstown Mass: Cornerhouse, 1972).

26. Michael Harrington, The Other America: Poverty in the United States, 2nd ed. (Riverside, New Jersey: MacMillan, 1970), passim and Handlin, The Newcomers, pp. 43-61.

27. Carl Wittke, We Who Built America (New York: Prentice Hall, 1939).

28. Among the more widely read books which deal with the 'quick fix' are Wittke, We Who Built America, J. Joseph Huthmacher, A Nation of Newcomers (New York: Delacorte, 1969), and John F. Kennedy, A Nation of Immigrants (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

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INSTANT HISTORY

THE METHODOLOGY OF ORAL HISTORY

by

Margaret Mary Fischer

The term, Oral History, coined in 1948 by the late Professor Allan Nevins, Columbia University, is simply the tape-recording of an interview session with an individual whose recollections of a certain period or event, observed at close range, or whose personal reminiscences of a vanishing way of life, will aid future scholars in understanding some aspect of our current era. These tape-recorded interviews are then transcribed by typewriter on to sheets of paper, called a transcript. The transcript is edited, by both interviewee and interviewer, indexed for subjects and proper names, typed in final form and bound into a printed document. In the oral history process, the tape-recording comprises the primary source and the manuscript, or document, is the secondary source.

The objective of oral history is the creation, as well as the preservation and collection, of primary source material to augment existing information. It does not supplant the written record, it supplements it by providing information previously unrecorded or undocumented.

> Late in his life Nevins recalled how as a young newspaperman in New York it had pained him to see the obituary pages of the New York Times, "published in the center of American life, the great metropolis, the focus of business and literary activity, of drama, of music, and to a great extent of political activity." New York had drawn to it an unmatchable array of famous personages and "Year by year, they died, and I said to myself as I saw the obituary columns, 'What memories that man carries with him into total oblivion, and how completely they are lost.' Shakespeare says, 'Time hath a monstrous wallet at his back in which he putteth alms for oblivion'... And so it was that the idea for oral history was born.[1]

Professor Nevins conceived the idea of oral history in 1938 when he wrote in the preface to his book THE GATEWAY TO HISTORY:

> ...We would also have some organization which made a systematic attempt to obtain from the lips and papers of living Americans, who have led significant lives, a fuller record of their participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the last sixty years...[2]

It was in 1948 that oral history became a reality when Mr. Nevins established the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University.

> ...for recording, transcribing, and making available to researchers the thoughts of persons believed to have information of value to historians. The end product of Nevins program is a manuscript that is reviewed by the person interviewed and, at a date to be determined by that person is made available to all qualified researchers.[3]

Oral history has been defined by Dr. Peter D. Olch, Deputy Chief, History of Medicine Division, National Library of Medicine, ..."as a technique to capture the recollections and interpretations of those participants...who are judged to be knowledgeable about the subject under study, whether it be an individual or a subject area."[4]

According to Elwood Maunder, Forest History Society, oral history is

> ...part of the human need to communicate. It's a means of communicating how we remember our times, our part in those times, our observations of our contemporaries, and perhaps something of our nation of how our story relates to the mainstream of history of which we are a part, and how in turn it has been molded. Now here is the marvelous gadget, the tape recorder, which has opened Pandora's Box and prepared the way for preserving remembrance of things past like never before in human history...[5]

Although the process of oral history, interviewing with a tape recorder, is relatively new, its concept, the interview, has been utilized for centuries by historians and can be traced to Herodotus in his HISTORY OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR. Hubert Howe Bancroft emphasized interviews to compile stories of the California pioneers. Lyman Copland Draper, the nineteenth century historian, conducted interviews with aged Western Pioneers in whose memories he believed precious historical material is treasured and which would perish if not rescued.

> ...What is new is the magnetic tape recorder, used on a large scale to capture exact verbatim accounts, together with accents, intonations and inflections, without the interpretative intervention of stenographers and notetakers. New also, perhaps, is the frequent use of this technique to record not only recollections of the past but the reflections and opinions of those whose lives are still engaged in public activities.[6]

Why the need for Oral History? In today's world, the automobile, the airliner and the telephone, have obliterated the art of letter-writing. The present generation does not have the leisure time available for memoir or diary writing. This is the era of the dictaphone, the computer, and the memo with its crisp, brief message. It is the age of conversation - dialogue - so the researcher interviews with a tape-recorder to capture the thoughts and opinions of today's busy people, both famous and relatively unknown.

> Through the relatively painless medium of relaxed conversations based upon well-planned questions, it is possible to elicit information that would not ordinarily get into the written record: the descriptions of the appearance and character of leading citizens, the motivations as to the why and how and by what "gentleman's agreement" things came to pass, the life and color of a community or an industry or an ethnic group.[7]

Some traditional historians question the accuracy and validity of oral history methodology and consider it substandard evidence, because of an interviewee's faulty memory or egotism. However, traditional evidence, such as diaries and letters, often contain inaccuracies and are subject to the same human failings as an interview. It is the historian's responsibility always to check sources and evidence, regardless if it is the printed word or oral tradition.

The 'elitist' versus the 'common man' approach in oral history is sometimes a controversial issue. However, modern scholarship recognizes the fact and historians generally agree

> ...that America needs a new history, broad enough to include the poor and the inarticulate. We need a radical corrective to the concensus history that confines its attention to an assumed elite. We need to understand our institutions of the past and the present in terms of their impact on people, not merely in terms of their growth and economic development. We want to know the relative efficiency of slave labor on a Virginia tobacco plantation, but we also want to know what that labor system did to the men and women who lived with it.
>
> We have to find different sources to put our history in a truer perspective.[8]

In 1931, Carl Becker stressed a 'personal rather than a national history' in an essay "Every Man His Own Historian".[9] Mr. Allan Nevins himself declared "that the most fascinating part of history and the most difficult to obtain, is the story of how plain men and women lived and were affected by the cultural changes of their times.[10]

> The case for oral history is an obvious one... Among illiterate and semiliterate societies, wheter primitive or civilized, oral traditions are still the chief form of historical awareness and cultural continuity from generation to generation... The oral history work at Cornell University in New York and at Mary Holmes College in Mississippi has been to collect "oral history" of rural families whose lives have been changed by the changes in technology and who have kept few if any written records. Other attempts are being made to record the stories of city-dwelling poor and migrant workers, or people with special experience in one of the many facets of our society.[11]

The significance of oral history is the provision of some intangible aspect of a past era, for example, atmosphere depicting social, political, economic and personality interrelationships explaining why certain issues were important and not others; and emphasis which indicates the relative importance a participant attaches to an event.[12]

> ...What is captured by oral history is seldom an exhaustive study of all the relevant data, but rather a segment of human experience - the interaction of interviewer and interviewee- in the context of a remembered past, a dynamic present and an unknown, open-ended future. To presume a search for historical evidence in such a source is a special challenge and adventure with both opportunities and limitations.[13]

In a paper read at the 1954 annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History, Dr. Vaughn Davis Bornet asked what oral history can give best "bare facts, sequence of events, causality, prime factors, statistics, long dead emotions and motivations, synthesis, or mature interpretations?...[14]

The tape-recorded interview session is the focal point in oral history methodology and requires an adequate knowledge of interviewing techniques and information about the topic being analyzed or studied. As secondary school teachers, it is necessary to decide what is to be accomplished in a particular unit of study and direct the interviewing process to that subject.

The next step is compilation of a list of names of prospective interviewees-people most likely to provide the most and best information about the topic under study.

After the topic of study has been chosen and a list of potential interviewees compiled, the student interviewer must prepare for his interview by extensive research and reading in both primary and secondary source materials. This phase of oral history methodology, background preparation, will direct the student to sources other than his textbook and will teach him the elements of bibliographic research.

The next step is the making of an outline of suggested topics to be covered during the interview. This outline should be general and brief with no questions written out. The outline serves two purposes: it gives the interviewer confidence and can be used to inform the interviewee, in initial contact, what subjects will be discussed during the interview.

The interviewer should contact the interviewee by letter, phone or personal visit, indicating the purpose of the interviewing session, the value of the interview to the school project and suggested topics for discussion during the interview. This initial contact should also stress the simple agreement which is to be signed by the interviewee, the interviewer and the teacher directing the project.

Before the actual interview session, practice with the tape recorder is absolutely essential for familiarity with the equipment. Cassette tape recorders are strongly recommended for their portability, convenience and ease of operation. A practice interview session using the tape recorder is helpful for getting the proper feel of the interview situation.

The interviewer, having completed his prefatory homework, including research, outline formulation, initial interviewee contact, is now ready for the actual interview session. It is imperative that the student interviewer be prompt for the interview. It is best to chat informally beforehand, while setting up the equipment as this will help create a friendly atmosphere and relieve tension by putting both interviewer and interviewee at ease.

> "...the ingredients of good interviews are... a combination of sound and thorough preparation, tactful relations, skilled questioning and cooperative interviewees."[15]

An interview is really a dialogue or conversation and not a simple question and answer session. Comments will encourage the interviewee to talk freely, and perhaps, touch on relevant topics the interviewer might not have considered, whereas specific, pointed questions will provide limited answers.

According to Richard A. Fear in his book THE EVALUATION INTERVIEW, whenever a comment can be substituted for a question, the conversation flows more naturally. The comment "Tell me a little more about that" is usually more effective than the question "What else did you find of interest in that situation?"[16]

Mr. Donald J. Schippers, Interviewer editor, Oral History Program, UCLA, suggests that interviewers be tactful, a good listener and emotionally responsive. Perhaps the instruction, listen well, is the most important advice for interviewers because a willing and careful listener who allows the interviewee to talk freely,will, in all probability, obtain a good interview with worthwhile information. Curiosity and enthusiasm are other qualities which the interviewer should possess.

An interview should be concluded at a reasonable time. An hour to an hour and a half is recommended as the maximum time for any interview session. If more information is needed, schedule a second interview. At the conclusion of each interview, label the tape box giving name of interviewee, date, time, subject, and interviewer. If it is a second or later interview, indicate the number of each session.

Transcription of the tape-recording session is the next step in the oral history process. The transcript should be as nearly verbatim of the tape as possible with the typist typing exactly as the material is spoken on the tape, regardless of sentence structure or grammar. Transcripts should be typed, double spaced, on 8½ by 11 paper with generous margins so that later corrections or changes can be inserted.

Editing the transcript involves the addition of punctuation marks, sentence structure and paragraph sequence. The main principle of editing is to represent the taped interview with accuracy. The document must convey the conversational and informal tone of the interview.

The transcript should be typed in final form, including a title page listing topic, interviewee, interviewer, and project, and an index citing all important subjects and proper names. The document should then be bound or inserted into a binder with accompanying photographs and illustrative material.

As stated previously, the tape is the primary source in oral history methodology; therefore it should always be preserved. However, in a classroom situation, it might not always be feasible to keep complete tapes of all assignments. It is suggested, however, that a master tape, comprising tape segments of each interview, be prepared and preserved for future reference or developing resources for a particular unit of study.

> ...Ben Jonson in "A Language in Oratory" said that "No glass renders a man's form or likeness so true as his speech." No transcript can capture the timbre of a man's voice, his tone, his inflections, the intensity of his expression. These are as much his speech as are the words he utters, and for that likeness one must go directly to the tape. By the same token, of course, the tape recorder misses all the non-verbal communication - the frown, the shrug, the arched eyebrow. Now that videotaping equipment is very nearly as portable...perhaps

> the time has come to discuss the possibilities of "visual history".[17]

The field of oral history has grown tremendously since its inception in 1948 at Columbia University. In 1966, the Oral History Association was formed with 145 members and now totals more than one thousand members, including individuals and institutions. The Association has sponsored an annual Colloquium since 1966. The 1975 Colloquium is scheduled in October in Asheville, North Carolina. According to ORAL HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES, A DIRECTORY, published in 1971, there were eighty-nine oral history projects in the country in 1965; in 1971, there were two hundred thirty projects. The Oral History Association publishes a quarterly newsletter, the PROCEEDINGS of the annual Colloquia and the DIRECTORY mentioned above.

An Institute on Oral History was held at the University of California at Los Angeles, July, 1968. It was attended by twenty participants and offered an intensive practical, two-week course in oral history methodology.

Oral History workshops and forums, conducted initially by the Oral History Association in the late 1960's, have since been featured by other professional organizations, as the American Association of State and Local History and The National Council for the Social Studies. Columns on Oral History appear regularly in the magazines, History News and Social Education. "Sight and Sound in the Social Studies" is the title of the column in the latter periodical.

Oral history in the classroom has been recognized by educators as a valuable learning tool for students. The Fourth National Colloquium on Oral History featured a panel discussion "Oral History as a Teaching Device" with Mr. William W. Cutler III, College of Education, Temple University, chairman. Mr. Cutler outlined the uses of oral history on both the secondary and elementary levels in the Philadelphia area, citing the Philadelphia Advancement School and the Frederick Douglas School, both media-oriented schools utilizing video-tapes.

The Philadelphia Advancement School, whose students comprise junior high underachievers removed from the regular city schools, give them

> ...15 weeks of intensive training in a variety of areas, one of which is media. The focus of the school is "how to live in an urban society"...The curriculum is what's happening now and one of the means to implement that curriculum is the almost daily use of cameras and tape recorders and ... cassette video tape. Interviewing has been an important part of what's been done...to teach kids how to live in an urban society, to promote their understanding of a very media-oriented world.[18]

Mr. Cutler was particularly impressed with the school's unit which he calls oral sociology

> There is something in Philadelphia called the 23 Trolley. It begins in Chestnut Hill, a fairly swank neighborhood, and goes from one end of the city to the other through

> practically every kind of neighborhood that you could imagine. The kids took tape recorders from the Pennsylvania Advancement School and cameras and they went out and took the 23 Trolley and interviewed people who got on and took pictures of them in an effort to learn something about neighborhood structure, about the arrangement of the city, about the way it is put together, and about the attitude of people who come from different neighborhoods on social issues.[19]

At the Frederick Douglas School, fifth and sixth grade children did a sociological study on the Progress Plaza Project, probably the first totally black shopping center in America. They interviewed various merchants, "to learn about how it had come into being, to try and get some better understanding of their community ... They took the tape recordings that they made at Progress Plaza and they took the pictures that they photographed there and put them together into a tape that was presented to the school.[20]

Dr. Lois Martin, Assistant Director for Field Services in the Department of Pupil and Program Appraisal of the Montgomery County (Maryland) Public Schools in an excellent article "Oral History - How to Mesh the Process and the Substance in U.S. History" appearing in the periodical Social Studies, December, 1972, lists several advantages of oral history methodology in the classroom. "One of the most widely overlooked resources available to the United States history teacher is people... who can talk to a high school student about the past."

> Oral History gathered by students through interviews is an unequalled way for students to learn to formulate hypothesis and test them against available evidence and to learn skills of communication beyond reading and writing. Students are highly motivated to conduct interviews they design. The information they gather is totally relevant because it is theirs. A sense of cultural continuity so often feared lost today is established when students talk about the past to parents, friends and neighbors.[21]

After presenting a case study of a study unit on the Depression, Dr. Martin concludes:

> Oral history is history instruction at its best. The student develops a realistic understanding of the work of the historian who must decide what in the past is significant to the present, how he can determine the extent of its impact, when he can get his data, how he can get his data, and how he can analyze and evaluate what he gets...
> ...Oral history is relevant social studies instruction. It does open communications between generations and enrich the culture.[22]

Perhaps the most unique and well-known school project utilizing the oral history process is the quarterly magazine, Foxfire, provided entirely by high school students, 12 thru 16 years of age, at the Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School, Rabun Gap, Georgia, under the direction of their teacher, Mr. Eliot Wigginton.

Now in its ninth year, the magazine has subscribers throughout the United States and a few foreign countries. The venture has been so successful that two books, FOXFIRE, and FOXFIRE 2, comprising selections from the periodical, have been Book of the Month Club selections and best sellers.

FOXFIRE originated in 1966 when Mr. Wigginton, after obtaining his A.B. in English and an M.A. in teaching at Cornell took a teaching job at the 240 pupil Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School teaching 9th and 10th grade English and Geography. Appalled by the students boredom and disinterest in school, Mr. Wigginton decided to discard the traditional textbook and involve the students in a new task - editing a magazine.

The first issue was to be done by all students as a class project during class time. The contents would include information such as why people in that area still plant today by signs of the zodiac and stages of the moon. The students didn't know either so their assignment was to go and talk to their parents, relatives and friends. From these interviews came superstitions, old home remedies, weather signs and directions for planting by the signs.

The name "Foxfire", chosen by the students is a tiny organism that glows in the dark and is frequently seen in the shaded coves of these mountains. The magazine has received two $10,000 grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and has been written about in virtually all the national periodicals including Saturday Review, the New Republic and National Geographic School Bulletin.

Tape recorders and cameras in hand, the students disappear into the Appalachian highlands in search of families who remember vividly how it was that they survived in a pre-supermarket, pre-flight, pre-television age.

Stan Echols, a student at the Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School, in the ORAL HISTORY REVIEW, 1973 lists his learning experiences on FOXFIRE as follows:

1) The value of a photograph and its importance in communicating an idea.

2) appreciation of the ingenuity of people

3) appreciation of the value of people working together and being dependent on each other.[23]

It is evident that oral history in the classroom is a valuable learning experience whereby students learn to do bibliographic research, improve reading and comprehension skills, how to communicate, how to operate equipment and how to utilize community resources and local history.

As Eliot Wigginton states in the Introduction to The FOXFIRE BOOK,

> Daily our grandparents are moving out of our lives, taking with them, irreparably, the kind of information contained in this book. They are taking it, not because they want to, but because they think we don't care...
> The big problem of course, is that since these grandparents were

> primarily an oral civilization, information being passed through the generations by word of mouth and demonstration, little of it is written down. When they're gone, the magnificent hunting tales, the ghost stories that kept a thousand children sleepless, the intricate tricks of self-sufficiency acquired through years of trial and error, the eloquent and haunting stories of suffering and sharing and building and healing and planting and harvesting - all these go with them, and what a loss.
> If this information is to be saved at all, for whatever reason, it must be saved now; and the logical researchers are the grandchildren (and we) gain an invaluable, unique knowledge about their own roots, heritage and culture... They have something to tell us about self-reliance, human interdependence, and the human spirit that we would do well to listen to.[24]

Footnotes

1. Norman Hoyle, "Oral History," Library Trends, July 1972, pp. 61-62.

2. Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1938), p.IV.

3. Gould P. Colman, "Oral History - an Appeal for More Systematic Procedures," American Archivist, January 1965, p. 79.

4. Peter Olch, "The Art of Interviewing" in *The Third National Colloquium on Oral History*, 1968, ed. Gould P. Colman (*New York: The Oral History Association*, 1969) p. 127.

5. Elwood Maunder, "The Art of Interviewing" in *The Third National Colloquium on Oral History*, 1968, ed. Gould P. Colman (*New York: The Oral History Association, 1969*) p. 137.

6. William W. Moss, *Oral History Program Manual* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974) p.9.

7. Willa K. Baum, *Oral History for the Local Historical Society* (Nashville, Tenn.: *American Association for State and Local History, 1971*) p.8.

8. Richard K. MacMaster, "Oral History Speaks for the Other America," *America*, 5,May 1973, p. 412.

9. Richard M. Dorson, "The Oral Historian and the Folklorist," in *Selections from the Fifth and Sixth National Colloquia on Oral History*, 1970, 1971, ed. Peter *D. Olch and Forrest C. Pogue (New York: The Oral History* Association, Inc., 1972) p. 43.

10. *Ibid*, p. 43.

11. Moss, *Op*. *Cit*., p. 8.

12. Donald C. Swain, "Problems for Practitioners of Oral History," American Archivist, January, 1965. p. 68.

13. Moss, *Op*. *Cit*., p. 8.

14. Vaughn Davis Bornet, "Oral History Can Be Worthwhile," American Archivist, July, 1955. pp. 244-245.

15. Moss, *Op*.*Cit*., p. 45.

16. Richard A. Fear, *The Evaluation Interview* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973) p. 84-85.

17. Hoyle, *Op*. *Cit*., p. 72.

Footnotes (Con't)

18. William W. Cutler III, "Oral History as a Teaching Device" in The Fourth National Colloquium on Oral History, 1969, ed. Gould P. Colman (New York: The Oral History Association, 1970) p. 161.

19. Ibid., p. 161-162.

20. Ibid., p. 163.

21. Lois Martin, "Oral History - How to Mesh the Process and the Substance in U.S. History," Social Studies, December 1972, p. 322.

22. Ibid., p. 326.

23. Stan Echols, "Oral History As a Teaching Tool," The Oral HISTORY REVIEW, 1973. New York: The Oral History Association, Inc., 1973. p. 35-36.

24. The Foxfire Book ed. Eliot Wigginton. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972, p. 12-13.

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THE ETHNIC CONFIGURATION OF RELIGION IN AMERICA

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It has been remarked that the story of religion in America can be organized around two themes: revivalism and immigration. If it be granted that revivalism flourished most among Christians of British origin and that its influence was greatest among Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, precisely those Christian churches whose roots were in the various dissenting movements within British Protestantism, it can be argued that, in the last analysis, ethnicity is the key to understanding religion in America.

The adjudication of that claim, however, is not the purpose of this presentation. Rather, what I shall be about in the following pages is to sketch in a very general way the manner in which the factor of ethnicity has influenced religious divisions and organizations in the United States.

It may come as a surprise to someone beginning an inquiry into the reason for the great number and variety of independent ecclesiastical organizations in the United States to learn that they are not merely the result of differences in doctrine, the manner of conducting worship services or the way in which the religious body organized itself. The fact of the matter is that most ecclesiastical organizations in America can be accounted for, in large part, by reference to that part of the Old World from which the church or synagogue's founding members emigrated to the New World.

The settlement of what is now the United States and Canada took place after the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. By the time that the first permanent settlements were launched at Jamestown, Quebec, Plymouth, Boston and New Amsterdam, the principle "cuius regio, eius religio" (the religion of the ruler is the religion of the territory) had already come to prevail in Europe and Christians were divided into what were, in effect, national or ethnic chruches. Thus, while the dynamics of cultural assimilation and intermarriage between ethnic groups have diluted the allegiance of many to the faith of their fathers and mothers, it is no accident of theological perference that so many people of Scandinavian descent are Lutherans, so many Scots are Presbyterians, so many Germans are either Roman Catholics or Lutherans and the Irish, Poles and Italians are usually Roman Catholics if they profess allegiance to any church in this country.

European origins are no less significant in the history of Judaism in America than in that of Christianity. In 1492, the year that Columbus discovered America, a systematic persecution of Jews within the Spanish domains began. In 1496, the Jews were expelled from Portugal. These Iberian or Sephardic Jewish refugees took refuge wherever they could find it in western Europe but Holland was especially attractive. In 1630, when the Dutch captured Recife in northeastern Brazil from the Portuguese, a number of Jews established residence there. In 1654, the Portuguese recaptured Recife and some of these Jews fled to the Dutch colony at New Amsterdam. With their arrival, Jewish religious history in America began. On the eve of the American Revolution Sephardic Jewish communities existed in New York, Newport, Charleston, Savannah, Richmond and Philadelphia. In all there were about two or three thousand Jews in these communities. Cultured and cosmopolitan, they had adapted to the American life style while retaining a devoted concern for a religious tradition of dignified orthodoxy. But in all the American colonies there was not a single rabbi.

In the early nineteenth century a different type of Jewish immigrant began to appear in the United States. These were the Ashkenazim or German Jews whose Judaism had been influenced by long centuries of life in the ghetto and revolved around community life and commitment to the Law and to the rabbinic tradition. For these Jews immigration to America brought opportunities for economic advancement of which they quickly took advantage. It also brought traumatic changes in the traditional forms of religious observance and it was among these German Jews that Reform Judaism arose when the tenuous unity between Sephardic and Ashkenazic groups broke down.

In adapting to America, the Ashkenazic Jews had embraced a number of external reforms in the order of worship such as the installation of organs, the use of mixed choirs, reductions in the proportion of Hebrew used in services and seating by family groups. These changes did such violence to the Law that ultimately attitudes toward the Scriptures, the Talmud and theology as a whole had to be revised. As early as 1802, the Jewish community in Philadelphia divided over the issue of adaptation. In 1842, the first explicitly Reform congregation in America, Temple Har Sinai, was organized in Baltimore. By 1885, Reform Judaism had almost come to be synonomous with American Judaism. In that year there were about 250,000 Jews in the United States.

Between 1870 and the outbreak of World War I nearly two million Jewish immigrants arrived in the United States, the great majority of them Yiddish-speaking Orthodox Jews from Russia, Poland, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Romania. Unlike the earlier Ashkenazic immigrants from Germany, these Jews preferred to keep the ghetto as an environment where an observant Jewish life could be lived. New York became "the Promised City" and the garment industry became "the great Jewish metier". Time has diminished the intensity with which the homogeneous Jewish neighborhood is maintained by the descendents of this last great wave of Jewish immigrants but the sheer weight of their numbers has made Orthodox and Conservative Judaism strong rivals to the more americanized Reform movement.

Adherence to a particular religious tradition was more often than not part of the cultural baggage of European immigrants to America and a source of ethnic identity and solidarity once the immigrant had settled in the New World. As "Marty", an academy award-winning film of the 1950's illustrates, this identification was readily perceived by the immigrants themselves. When the anguished Italian mother in the film exclaimed to her son that the girl he had just introduced as his fiancee was not Italian she was also expressing her concern about the girl's religion because if she was not Italian she was likely not to be Catholic either. Marty, the son, trying to reconcile his mother to his proposed marriage outside of the Italian community, offered as a consolation the news that although the girl was not Italian she was, at least, Catholic.

In the United States, moreover, there often exist separate independent ecclesiastical organizations or denominations among people whose ancestors came from the same part of Europe and whose confessional standards and religious practices are similar, even identical, but who represent later or earlier waves of immigration. A good example of this phenomenon is the denomination known as the Christian Reformed Church. The Dutch settlers who populated the Hudson River Valley, Long Island and northern New Jersey in the seventeenth century brought with them the Calvinist creeds and polity of their homeland. Since New Netherlands was colonized under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company and the company's home office was in Amsterdam, the settlers submitted in matters ecclesiastical to the Amsterdam classis of the Dutch Reformed church. In 1792, after the American Revolution, the Dutch churches in America declared their independence of Amsterdam, drew up a constitution and organized themselves as the Dutch Reformed Church in North America. English, Scots and Germans began to join the church in increasing numbers and the use of Dutch as the church's language for preaching, the singing of hymns and publishing lapsed.

In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a second wave of Dutch immigration which often brought whole congregations with their pastors to the United States. Many of the newcomers settled around Grand Rapids, Michigan, instead of in the former Dutch territories around the mouth of the Hudson and they were uncomfortable with what they considered the laxity of the Dutch Reformed Church in the eastern states as well as the widespread abandonment of the Dutch language in preaching and the hymnal. In 1857, some of these new immigrants formed a new denomination, the True Dutch Reformed Church, which used the Dutch language exclusively in its worship services. Time and the process of cultural assimilation took their toll, however, and by the 1920's English was replacing Dutch as the liturgical language of the Ture Dutch Reformed Church. Nevertheless, as the Christian Reformed Church, this body continues its separate existence.

The history of Lutheranism in America further illustrates the tendency among immigrants of the same religious persuasion to build separate ecclesiastical organizations which preserve an ethnic identity. The great majority of Lutherans in Europe are to be found in Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Scandinavian countries. In the United States, Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Finnish and German Lutherans all organized their own churches which separated them not only from non-Lutherans but from one another as well as from Lutherans from other provinces of Germany, Sweden, etc. At one time, there were one hundred and fifty Lutheran bodies in the United States. Mergers across ethnic lines have reduced the number to twelve, six of which account for about ninety-five percent of all Lutherans in North America. The discerning observer, however, may still note the predominance of Scandinavian names in the ranks of the American Lutheran Church or of German names among the constituency of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod.

Somewhat analogous to the situation of Lutherans in America is that of Orthodox Christians. These are the religious heirs of the Christian religion as it developed in the Byzantine Empire whence Christianity penetrated Russia and the Balkan countries. As with Judaism, the number of adherents to Orthodox Christianity in America was not large until the end of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In those years a great wave of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe swelled the ranks of Orthodoxy in this country. In the old World their churches had, for the most part, enjoyed national autonomy. There was a loose unity among them centering on a recognition of the Patriarch of Constantinople as "first among equals" among Orthodox bishops. This organizaiton along ethnic lines prevailed in the United States where one finds separate and independent ecclesiastical bodies for Greek, Ukrainian, Syrian, Serbian and Albanian Orthodox. Three different bodies vie for the allegiance of Orthodox Christians of Russian extraction.

Significantly enough, since the British Isles contributed a greater percentage of the immigrants to America than any other part of Europe, the two largest Protestant bodies in the United States, Baptists and Methodists, have their origins in British Protestant Christianity. The first English settlers in Virginia brought a clergyman with them and the Church of England became the first Protestant church to be permanently established in the New World. However, it was not the Church of England and its successor after American independence, the Protestant Episcopal Church, that were destined to enroll the great majority of American Christians of British descent.

Although at first they claimed to be only purifying the Church of England of corrupt practices and beliefs, the English Puritans in New England had soon established a new Christian body, the Congregational Church. Baptists and Methodists in America made no such pretense of remaining within the church of England and by the mid-nineteenth century they far outnumbered American Episcopalians, especially on the frontier where the revivals proved to be an effective recruiting device for these two denominations. Scots and Scotch-Irish introduced into America the Presbyterian Christianity of their European homeland.

It is only recently in the twentieth century that the identification of these denominations with people of British stock has begun to be blurred. In 1957, recognizing the large measure of unity that already existed between them, the Congregational Christian Church of English background and the Evangelical and Reformed Church of German background merged to form the United Church of Christ. In 1968, a similar English-German union between the Methodists and Evangelical United Brethren resulted in the formation of the United Methodist Church. In both cases, the two German bodies had not used the German language for several generations.

The centralist tendencies in the Roman Catholic Church have prevailed in the United States and American Catholics have, with one notable exception, not divided along ethnic lines into separate independent denominations. But Catholicism could no more escape the pull of Old World ties between religion and nationality than could Protestantism, Orthodoxy and Judaism.

The Catholic response to the preference for ethnic homogeneity in the religious community was to organize "national" parishes alongside the territorial parishes. Instead of undertaking to serve all the Catholics within prescribed territorial boundaries, the national parish serves all the Catholics of a given nationality in an area and membership in the parish is open only to members of that nationality. Prior to 1965, Latin was the prescribed language in services of public worship in all Latin Rite Catholic churches but in the national parish the preaching, counseling, singing and general parish business were conducted in the national language of the parishioners. If there was a parochial school the language and culture of the nationality whose parish it was often found a place in the curriculum. The current edition of the directory for the Roman Catholic Diocese of Scranton which covers eleven counties in northeastern Pennsylvania lists a total of one hundred and nineteen national parishes for eight ethnic groups: Poles, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Italians, Tyrolese, Germans, Magyars and Slovenians. If the Irish parishes were English has always been the language of the parishioners are added to that number, more than half the Catholic parishes in northeastern Pennsylvania were originally established as national parishes. While most parishioners in these national parishes no longer speak the language of their forebears, the habits of several generations are not easily broken and most of the national parishes in northeastern Pennsylvania have survived into the 1970's.

A glance at the development of the national parishes in Wilkes-Barre illustrates the impact of the ethnic factor in the organization of the area's Catholics. The first parish to be organized in the Wyoming Valley was St. Mary of the Immaculate Conception in Wilkes-Barre. The year was 1845 and the names of the members of the building committee as well as that of the first pastor were Irish. There is evidence, however, of a relatively large number of Germans in the parish from the very beginning. By 1856, German and Irish parishioners were sitting on opposite sides of the center aisle in the church building which then stood on Canal Street. The Germans wanted and were numerous enough to be formed into a separate congregation and in

1858, St. Nicholas of Tolentine parish was established with a church building on Washington Street in Wilkes-Barre, approximately where the present church stands. As an interesting sidelight it might be remarked in passing that when the Germans separated from the Irish to form a distinct parish of their own they demanded that the money paid towards the building of the Irish church should be refunded to them. The bishop upheld the Germans in the ensuing controversy and the Wilkes-Barre Irish reluctantly paid up. This transaction is said to have poisoned relations between the two groups until the outbreak of World War I when the Irish, ever antagonistic to the English, forgot the past and became Germans at heart.

The new German parish also had a German pastor, the Reverend Peter Conrad Nagle. Father Nagle had been born in Germany and educated at the University of Paderborn. As a young man he had tutored the children of some wealthy Polish families in Poznan, Poland, and could speak Polish. Nagle undertook to serve the growing number of Polish Catholics in Wilkes-Barre and neighboring towns and held separate Sunday services for them in the school of the German parish. In the 1870's, large numbers of Polish immigrants began to arrive in the Wyoming Valley to work in the mines. The first Polish parish in the Valley, St. Stanislaus in Nanticoke, was established in 1873. In 1884, the Poles in Wilkes-Barre and the middle Wyoming Valley proceeded with the help of Nagle to organize the first Polish parish in Wilkes-Barre, St. Mary's of the Nativity on Park Avenue.

The first Lithuanian Roman Catholic parish in America, St. Casimir's, was established in the Wyoming Valley. The original church building stood in Larksville but in 1954, due to mine subsidence at the Larksville site, a new building was erected in the Lyndwood section of Hanover Township adjacent to the south end of Wilkes-Barre. The first Lithuanian settlement in the Valley was in Plymouth in 1869. Like the Polish citizens of that town, the Lithuanians preferred to worship at St. Stanislaus, the Polish parish in Nanticoke, rather that at St. Vincent's, the Irish parish in Plymouth. In 1884, Poles and Lithuanians joined to form a new parish in Plymouth, St. Mary's. But the Polish element dominated the new parish and refused to tolerate the use of the Lithuanian language. Whereupon, in 1889, until they had constructed a church building of their own, the Lithuanians moved to the auditorium of the Irish parish for mass where the gospel was read and the sermon preached in the Lithuanian language.

In 1894, Sacred Heart, the first Slovak Catholic parish in Wilkes-Barre, was established on North Main Street with Rev. Joseph Murgas, the "radio priest", as pastor. In 1903, Rev. Luigi Cecere arrived in Wilkes-Barre from Italy and began the celebration of an Italian mass in the basement of St. Mary's Church on South Washington Street. In 1908, the Italian-Americans who made up his congregation established Holy Rosary parish on Park Avenue, the first Italian parish in Wilkes-Barre.

Each of these national parishes was divided at least once again and the number of national parishes thus proliferated. In the same period, 1845-1908, that saw the creation of the first national parishes in Wilkes-Barre, three more territorial or "Irish" parishes, as they were frequently referred to, were also established in the city.

While Catholic leaders rejected in principle the suggestion that the Catholic Church in America be organized along ethnic lines, they made exceptions for Byzantine Rite Catholics from the Ukraine, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Middle East whose liturgical traditions reflected the influence of Constantinople and Antioch rather than Rome and Western Europe. In 1913, a Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy was established in the United States with jurisdiction over all Catholics of the Byzantine Rite who immigrated to America from Galicia, Bucovina and other Ukrainian provinces and their descendents. Similar "national" hierarchies were established in 1924 for Ruthenian Byzantine Rite Catholics from the Austrian province of Galicia and from Hungary and in 1966 for Lebanese and Syrian Catholics of the Maronite and Melkite Rites. The boundaries of the dioceses of the Byzantine or "Eastern" Rite bishops overlap the diocesan boundaries of the Latin or "Western" Rite bishops. Thus, Sacred Heart Church on North Main Street in Wilkes-Barre is under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Scranton while St. Mary's Greek Catholic Church, one block away, is under the jurisdiction of the Ruthenian Rite bishop in Passaic, New Jersey, and Saints Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church, one block away in the other direction, is under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Rite bishop in Philadelphia.

The national parish, the Catholic response to the pull of nationalism in ecclesiastical organization, was not entirely successful in heading off a division of American Catholics along ethnic lines. In 1897, factions in several Polish parishes in Scranton, Dickson City and Plymouth organized parishes outside of the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishop and constituted themselves as a new independent denomination, the Polish National Catholic Church of America. This movement for an independent Polish church spread to other centers of Polish immigration in America and, eventually, back to the homeland, Poland itself. Though it failed to enroll a majority of Polish-Americans, the Polish National Catholic Church stands as one more witness to the tendency in organized religion in America to preserve ethnic identity by creating independent ecclesiastical organizations separated from others of similar belief and practice along ethnic rather than confessional lines.

Not only do the ecclesiastical divisions of American Chistians owe their existence in large part to the desire to preserve an ethnic identity but the service organizations founded by the immigrants frequently began under the auspices of the churches, such as the Lithuanian - American Alliance which grew out of a fraternal organization in St. Mary of the Annunciation parish in Kingston. In other instances such organizations reflect and buttress the ecclesiastical divisions as in the case of the Polish National Union of America - Spojnia - established in 1908 as a fraternal benefit society for Polish National Catholics who were uncomfortable or unwelcome in the Roman Catholic counterparts, the Polish Roman Catholic Union and the Polish Union of the United States of North America. Many Catholic religious orders, such as the Sisters of Jesus Crucified (Lithuanian) and the Sisters of Saints Cyril and Methodius (Slovak), were founded to serve the members of a particular nationality by maintaining schools, hospitals and other services.

The question of whether or not the ethnic configuration of organized religion in America can or should be maintained does not lie within the scope of this presentation. Nor can adequate attention be paid to the manner in which particular nationalities may have significantly effected the shape of religion for larger groups of Christians or Jews in America. My objective has been to alert you to the ethnic base on which rest the ecclesiastical divisions among Christians and Jews in this country. Surely, no accurate picture of how ethnicity has functioned in American society can be drawn without reference to the role of church and synagogue as well as to the role of the fraternal and service organizations which were sponsored by and supported the institutions of organized religion. These institutions not only derived in large part from the ethnic identification of their constituents but also reinforced and continue to reinforce it. The poignant story of twelve Italian miners and small businessmen in Exeter in 1928 mortgaging their houses and putting up their savings as security for a loan to build a church for Italian Catholics on the west side of the Wyoming Valley is not without parallel among the different groups of immigrants who were utterly convinced of the importance of worshipping with their compatriots in their own language.

SUGGESTED PROJECTS FOR THE STUDY OF ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

Churches and synagogues are to be found in almost every community no matter how small. They are easily accessible and their members are usually quite willing to talk about the life and history of the congregation. Thus, histories of local congregations, especially those that have ties with a particular ethnic group, make good research projects for courses or units of courses dealing with ethnicity in America.

In selecting a suitable congregation for such a study the yellow pages of the local telephone directory, under the headings "Churches" and Synagogues," might be consulted first. If needed, further recourse might be had to local pastors and rabbis for information as to congregations in an area that serve or once served specific ethnic groups. Most denominations publish a directory listing local congregations and clergy. The directory for the Roman Catholic Diocese of Scranton (Northeastern Pennsylvania) lists national parishes by nationality, e.g., St. Casimir (Lithuanian)".

For general information on the history of organized religion in an area historical societies and special collections in local libraries might be consulted. For the Wyoming Valley, the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society and the Special Collections Division of the Corgan Library at King's College hold materials pertaining to the history of local churches and synagogues. The bibliography on ethnicity and religion lists some titles that will be helpful in tracing the history of specific denomination in America.

A typical research project might include a brief account of the history of the denomination to which a local congregation belongs, something on the history of organized religion in the town or area where the congregation is located and the story of how the local congregation came to be established, its ties with a specific ethnic group or groups and its subsequent life and development. Interviews with long-time members of the congregation are especially helpful in appreciating the role it may have played in people's lives as well as in gathering information and anecdotal material that may be omitted from anniversary booklets because it seemed insignificant or embarrassing. Attention ought to be given to the language used in worship services as well as to attempts made to keep a foreign language alive as part of the cultural heritage of a particular congregation.

Similar research projects might be conducted for fraternal, mutual aid and service organizations connected with the churches and synagogues of a locality. Among Roman Catholic religious orders represented in northeastern Pennsylvania, the Oblates of Saint Joseph (Italian), the Sisters of Cyril and Methodius (Slovak), the Sisters of Jesus Crucified (Lithuanian), the Sisters of Christian Charity (German) and the Bernadine Sisters (Polish) all have ties with a particular ethnic group.

The Special Collections Division of the Corgan Library at King's College is interested in obtaining materials pertaining to the religious history of Luzerne County and would welcome copies of research papers on local religious institutions as well as anniversary books, newspaper clippings, tapes of interviews, etc. These materials will be catalogued and made available to anyone doing research in the religious life of the area.

RELIGION AND ETHNICITY: AN ESSAY ON BIBLIOGRAPHY

(*indicates available in paperback)

If there is an indispensable reference for anyone undertaking the study of any aspect of religion in America- it is A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America (2 vols. Princeton, 1961) edited by Nelson R. Burr. These two volumes constitute volume IV, parts 1-5, of the series Religion in American Life edited by James Ward Smith and A. Leland Jamison. Burr's two volumes are an annotated bibliography in narrative form on almost every conceivable topic having to do with religion in America. A selective and updated version to Burr's bibliography has been published by the author under the title *Religion in American Life (N.Y., 1971). This later and shorter volume has annotations but no narrative discussion.

For the student of ethnicity and religion in America some general knowledge of the issues and general development of religion in the United States will probably be desirable. The most complete one volume history of religion in America is Sydney Ahlstron's *A Religious History of the American People (New Haven, 1972). High school students will find Edwin Scott Gaustad's *A Religious History of America (N.Y., 1966) more readable although less complete. Shorter than Ahlstrom but offering a more thorough account of the subject matter than Gaustad is Winthrop Hudson's *Religion in America (2nd edition: New York, 1973). For the teacher who expects to deal extensively with organized religion in America as well as for school libraries, Gaustad's Historical Atlas of Religion in America (New York, 1962) is a tool of immense utility. The editor organizes his material so as to give a series of denominational histories accompanied by statistical and geographical information replete with charts and graphs. The result is a volume that is fascinating in both content and presentation. The most useful, concise reference work on American denominations is Frank S. Mead's Handbook of Denominations (5th edition: Nashville, 1970).

For a good brief overview of American Protestantism one might consult Winthrop Hudson *American Protestantism (Chicago, 1961) or Martin Marty, *Righteous Empire (New York, 1970). For Catholicism in America, John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism (2nd edition revised: Chicago, 1969) and Thomas T. McAvoy, A History of the Catholic Church in the United States (Notre Dame, 1969) are the best one volume surveys. Nathan Glazer, *American Judaism (Chicago, 1957) gives a brief overview of the development of Judaism in the United States although it is not recent enough to adequately handle the effect of the existence of Israel and recent Arab-Israeli wars on the ethnic consciousness of American Jews.

Studies of specific immigrant groups such as Wasyl Halish's Ukrainians in the United States (Berkeley, Calif., 1937) abound and usually contain a chapter or section treating religion. In the accompanying presentation I am greatly indebted to H. Richard Niebuhr's chapter, "The Churches of the Immigrants", in *The Social Sources of Denominationalism (rev. ed.: New York, 1940). For the history of organized religion in Luzerne County one might begin by consulting Steward Pearce, Annals of Luzerne County (Philadelphia, 1866) for the period up until the end of the Civil War. John P. Gallagher, A Century of History (Scranton, 1968), traces the development of Catholicism in the area and may be supplemented by the various historical issues of The Catholic Light, the Scranton diocesan newspaper.

THE CHALLENGE OF ETHNIC STUDIES IN NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

by

Victor Greene

The current heightened awareness of ethnic groups in America is a delicate subject which presents a dilemma to people in education. This rise of ethnicity makes instructors at the same time both hopeful and apprehensive. Not wishing to overdramatize the present state of group identification among the many elements of our population, I sense rather strongly that we in America and particularly you in Northeastern Pennsylvania are at an important crossroads in dealing with your student — and parental — constituency. The emergence of what has been designated as Polish, Italian, and Jewish power coming after the assertion of Black, Brown, and Red power bodes both good and evil. This more sensitized group feeling can lead to either greater group friction of a better understanding about the diverse ethnic composition of our nation according to how these sentiments are handled. The problem for teachers and administrators is how they should react to this new development.

As a result of a number of factors, the civil rights movement of the '60's, the various international crises after World War II, and the appearance of aggressive "new ethnic" spokesmen, more elements that ever of our population are demanding increased public are demanding increased public recognition. Whatever opinion we may have of these more vocal enthusiasts — whether their demands are justified or not, we in education must deal now with the consequences, an increasingly aroused ethnic population.

The discouraging outlook for us in the schools is because of the realization that many programs instituted recently in black studies were largely a failure. They were put together rather hastily in response to political exigencies — so the antecedents for the new ethnic studies programs are hardly models. Will the new curriculum suffer the same fate?

Some commentators in higher education especially reflecting on the collapse of earlier ethnic studies programs have a more basic question, namely whether schools should respond to these new vociferous "new ethnic" appeals at all! One colleague has warned that the new programs will open a Pandora's box leading to a host of greater problems. By legitimizing one group in our course of study, he advised, you must legitimize all — a direction that will lead to pedagogical chaos, and worse, will exacerbate group feelings. If, for example, Pennsylvania sanctions Black studies and Chicano studies and Polish and Italian American studies, can it deny programs for the smaller groups in the state, the Armenians, Basques, Manx, and the Wendish who are certain to surface when curricula are devised?[1]

Certainly the manner of the schools' response might well lead to these pedagogical and social dangers. Not only may the programs themselves be unworkable but they may produce greater group jealousy and conflict, exactly what this "unglued" nation does not need at present.

This paper advocates firmly that despite the risks educational institutions ought to expand ethnic studies content in their programs. The existence and persistence of group life in America has simple been too long neglected in the education of our people. Education needs to recognize ethnicity not because some politically powerful forces are pressuring teachers and administrators but because it has been a vital fact of life throughout our history. It has been a particularly uncomfortable element of reality which Americans and educators had hoped might disappear.

This essay offers no simple prescription for how Pennsylvania schools should respond to the new ethnic demands. It will, however, from my knowledge of Slavic America offer some instructional considerations which might be helpful as you teach in these anthracite districts. The paper will indicate first what I view as a malaise that affects a large part of the school population, third and fourth generation Slavic Americans. Second it will advise some ways in which instruction can meet that discomfort. Another colleague has criticized my suggestions as assuming an unreasonable burden on and misunderstanding of the role of educational institutions. To be sure, this advice is not meant as a school panacea for the neuroses and psychoses of contemporary ethnic youth. But certainly instructors ought to be aware of the discomforts that affect their students so that learning is possible. At least teachers ought not to worsen the uncomfortable condition of their pupils.

I should admit at the outset that I am a historian, not a child psychologist so my comments are not those of an authority on the problems of youth. This paper will not suggest with precision the extent of the malady that I discern. Nonetheless the problem does exist among many adolescents with strong ethnic backgrounds, and among East European Americans in particular.

Put simply, whether felt consciously or not, many students of Slavic descent suffer from an enervating inferiority complex. This unsettling psychological condition is pervasive, leading to a debilitating feeling of inadequacy among those young people who reflect on their ancestry. I would suggest even further that the discomfort also affects those who do not. The sources of this sense of inferiority are two: first, the more obvious one to them, an unflattering ethnic comparison with the predominant non-Slavic, non-Catholic groups in our society; and second, less evident but just as potent, a grievously inadequate and distorted understanding of their own group past.

Certainly a part of the problem has been the unfavorable American image of Slavic Americans since World War I and, in fact, the guiding principle of our immigration policy for nearly a half a century thereafter — the Anglo-American melting pot. Originally expressed in various ways before 1914 by many proponents without any connotations of group inferiority, this melting pot symbol referred to the inevitable transformation of our many foreign peoples as Americans. But during the war and immediately thereafter with the influence of madison Grant's Passing of the Great Race (1916), the discriminatory findings of the Dillingham Commission of 1910 and 1911, the Red Scare of 1920, and the assumption of Albert Johnson as chairman of the immigration committee of the House of Representatives, the conventional view about 1920 was that America could not afford to accept immigrants unless they could assimilate rapidly into Anglo-American culture.[2] Since the peoples from Great Britain and Scandanavia integrated more quickly, this meant more favorable treatment of arrivals from northern and western than eastern and southern Europe as enunciated in the national origins principle of the decade's restrictionist legislation. This notion, one must add, was no simple conspiracy by WASPs alone for many if not most "new" immigrant members in America were also committed to some form of Americanization. They would not have made the trip if they were not.

At this time, in the 1920's and 1930's, sociologists like William I. Thomas, Florian Znaniecki, Robert E. Park, Herbert Miller, William C. Smith, and E. V. Stonequist concentrate on the impact of this national origins philosophy on second generation Eastern and Southern European Americans. These academicians referred to the psychological consequence as discomfort for ethnic Americans, "marginality." It was the young people in particular in these American communities who suffered the most as they attempted to live in two cultures, the traditional one that their fmaily had helped to construct here and the dominant one of their non-group peers. Their position was painful as they tried to accommodate two societies. One result was less parental control and delinquency.

Marcus Hansen, one of the founders of immigration history, offered a "third generation law" in the 1930's which incorporated this youthful discomfort into a theory. He concluded that the third generation really sought to remember what the second generation tried hard to forget. While he drew from the Scandanavian experience and his "law" is still unproven generally, he realized the difficulty for at least some immigrant children to live on the fringes or "margin" of two different worlds.[3] I would further contend that today being aware of one's membership and origins in Polish, Italian, Greek, and Jewish America even in the third generation carries with it a measure of inferiority. That insecurity could be self-suppressed and thus inconspicuous but nevertheless operative, or it could be broadcast aggressively as a feeling of superiority. In both cases the agony of not being equal to Yankees is still there.[4]

Autobiographical confessions of this inferiority help outsiders understand the inadequacy felt by non-Anglo Americans but citing examples may be misleading. They may be unique rather than representative. Still, I would like to present a few such confessions because they do convey at least some of the embarrassment that exists today among Slavic American youth in Pennsylvania.

The first is an utterance of shame expressed by an Italian boy in the 1930's, John Fante. While not a Slav, he does articulate that insecure feeling new immigrant children have, caught between their family's foreign ways and their own individual efforts to be like one of their school "gang." Fante criticizes his parents' European life style, an ethnic existence he always hid from his friends. Remember this speaker would be in his late forties today, the father of a teenager. As he put it recalling his school days:

> I. . .loathe my heritage. I avoid Italian boys and girls who try to be friendly. I thank God for my light skin and hair and I choose my companions by the Anglo-Saxon ring of their names. If a boy's name is Whitney, Browne, of Smythe, then he is my pal but I'm always a little breathless when I am with him; he may find me out. At the lunch hour I huddle over my lunch pail, for my mother does not wrap my sandwiches in waxed paper. . .she makes them too large, and the lettuce leaves protrude. Worse the bread is home made, not "American" bread. . .I am nervous when I bring friends to my house; the place looks so Italian. Here hangs a picture of Victor Emmanuel and over there is one of the cathedral of Milan, and next to it one of St. Peter's, and on the buffet stands a wine pitcher of medieval design; it's forever brimming, forever red and brilliant with wine. These things are heirlooms belonging to my father, and no matter who may come to our house he likes to stand under them and brag.
>
> So I begin to shout at him. I tell him to cutout being being a Wop and be an American once in a while. Immediately he gets out his razor-strop and whales the hell out of me, clouting me from room to room and finally out the back door. . .A Wop! That's what my father is! Nowhere is there an American father who beats his son this way. Well. . .some day I'll get even with him.
>
> My grandmother has taught me to speak her native tongue. By seven I know it pretty well, and I always address her in it. But when my friends are with me, . . .I pretend to ignorance of what she says and smirk stiffly; my friends daren't know that I can speak any language but English.[5]

My contention is that many Slavic American adolescents from the many small Northeastern Pennsylvania communities who have little understanding of their European heritage do sense a similar embarrassment.

In my historical research on the Slavic communities in the anthracite district, regrettably I could not locate any similar intimate articulation of Eastern European marginality in America. However, two examples do come close to exposing the great mental anguish that Polish Americans feel in trying to adjust their cultural past with the current American mainstream. One non-Polish student of the group, for example, has concluded that the persistent popularity of the "Polish joke" has taken its toll among the subjects themselves. With little understanding as to how to respond, they begin to believe that the discriminatory humor is true. The result is frustration and pain. As the observer put it: "Attitudes within Polonia may also be influenced by feelings of shame and self-consciousness concerning Polish identity. This is a consequence of living in a society that has given relatively little recognition or respect to those of Polish ancestry and in which they have been victimized by vulgar stereotypes. Those status considerations have contributed to a loss of confidence and to self-rejection resulting in serious personal problems and even profound psychological cases for many."[6]

Another academician, this one of Slavic background, has offered his reading audience a personal response to what he calls the melting pot philosophy in referring to his adolescence. While he may not speak for most Slavic Americans in blaming WASPs and liberal intellectuals for their insensitivity toward his people, his expressed feelings are more representative of your students. Born in a soft coal region in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, Michale Novak as a Slovak American youth remembered his won early problems of identity. He always felt uneasy as he realized the inferiority of his Slavic and Catholic ancestry — he was "privy [then] to neither power nor status nor intellectual voice."[7]

Our present day ethnic youth, the sons and daughters of the adults just cited may not have sensed similarly that dilemma of marginality that Fante and Novak did some decades ago. Still, while the cultural conflict may be less conscious to present day ethnic adolescents and Slavic and Polish Americans of the third and fourth generation have fewer distinctive group characteristics, they have enough to make them feel uncomfortable, a foreign name and a neglected heritage. Their parents have not conveyed to them very well the meaning of their past, particularly if those adults themselves suffered from marginality. As Eric Erickson has told us adolescents are at an age that searches for identity so ethnic young people have an additional handicap in understanding themselves. Being Polish American in the third generation is simply not quite as good as being Anglo-American or simple as someone with no ethnic background at all.

This inferiority of group and the malaise of self-doubt persists in Polish America because of another factor which has not been well articulated. The consequences of this factor still do constitute a more potent source of inadequacy among school-age youth. This deficiency which those of us in education should be aware of is a fragmentary and thus distorted knowledge of their own family and group past. Of course stating this as an American historian, I would assert that to a greater or lesser degree what might be called the discomfort of historical amnesia is a widespread malady of all Americans, not just Pennsylvania Slavs. But Polish Americans particularly suffer from that problem. The few youngsters who can generalize about their Polish American history and even those who cannot are haunted by the immigrant image — that is the "poor and huddled" inscribed on the Statue of Liberty. Their grandparents and great-grandparents originating from the less advanced sections of Europe bestowed on their progeny an occupational heritage that is rather unflattering. In a word these foreign ancestors had no social status here and never rose far from that lowly socio-economic position during their lifetime. They bequeathed a social and intellectual level to their offspring that was far inferior to that of native and older stock ethnic Americans.

This recollection which Slavic American youth consciously may or may not make is not entirely inaccurate. Most of their ancestors who arrived in the period between the Civil War and World War I came as rough, simple ex-peasants and worked here at the more arduous, lowest paying jobs in the mills, mines and factories. That is why so many came to Pennsylvania and the anthracite district in particular. But this memory of Slavic or better phrased perjoratively by contemporaries, "hunky" laborers while largely accurate is in fact partly inaccurate and as I will show really a distorted recollection.

Before expanding on this distortion, I must comment first on the responsibility for the widespread ignorance and the inadequate knowledge we all have of Slavic America. The deficiency is in large part that of my colleagues past and present in the historical profession. In their century of scholarship American historians have hesitated to incorporate the experience of these and most other ethnic groups into their literature and generalizations.[8] Where these guardians of the past have depicted the new immigrants, they have done do stereotypically, as a homogeneous mass of poor simple laborers buffeted by the new industrial order. A recent, distinguished historian, for example, wrote about anthracite society in this manner. He described the area's ethnic population and specifically the East Europeans as a disorganized, unstable community in the late nineteenth century, a veritable human jungle of misery.[9] But even this scholarly description of East Europeans lacks depth and sophistication. While possibly accurate for the older immigrants, the article contains no Slavic sources but depends heavily on English language newspapers.[10]

Thus most of Slavic American history to now has been left to group members in accounts that are dated or written by non-professional historians and of very uneven merit. Fortunatley a younger group of writers with academic credentials just now are appearing to offer conclusions based on more authoritative evidence. For Pennsylvania an older example of Slavic American history is Edward Pinkowski's _Lattimer Massacre_ (Philadelphia, 1950) and a new work is John Bodnar, ed., _The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania_ (Lewiston, Pa., 1973).

Whatever the causes for the neglect of these groups in historical works, the Polish American community labors heavily under the "hunky" image. To have been descended from a breaker boy, a mule driver, or a miner's helper commands little respect in a nation that still worships achievement and wealth in the grand Horatio Alger tradition. Thus the new ethnics are painfully aware more or less of their low class origins; what they regard as their family history is a constant source of embarrassment.

To better understand that awful burden of the past that Slavic youth bear today consciously and sub-consciously, we ought to recall that family history in visual terms, too. It is possible to construct a "family scrapbook," as it were. fortuneately students can find certain well-known photographs which could constitute such an album. This pictorial dimension will suggest vividly how burdensome is that image of the Slavic laborer.

At the very time when most Slavic newcomers were landing in America, about the turn of the century around 1900 photography had matured technically to such a point that some enthusiasts considered it a new art form. It was to provide a superbly realistic, visual record of the contemporary social movement, immigration. In addition avant-garde artists then were subscribing to the aesthetic principles of naturalism which consciously sought to convey real-life impressions of lower class life to its audience. These Progressive artists, painters, writers, and photographers felt that their art should have a practical purpose as well as an aesthetic one — to galvanize the public to social reform and improve life among the lowly. The immigrant ghettoes in cities were ideal sources for their compositions. It is more than coincidence for example, that the most complete, contemporary survey of social life in anthracite, Rev. Peter Roberts, *Anthracite Coal Communities* (New York, 1904) has over a score of photographs, or that the best known photographic essay by the founder of American art photography, Alfred Steiglitz, is entitled *The Steerage* (1907).

The most famous contemporary cameraman was Lewis W. Hine whose pictorial essays of the poor, children and workers have endured as art of exceptional quality.[11] Ironically, though, while authentic representations of immigrant life, faithful and even sympathetic reflections, these pictures have contributed to the stereotype of the "hunky" and had a devastating impact I believe on later ethnic generations, our current youthful Slavic Americans. These prints oversimplified the existence of foreign-born workingmen and women because they were designed to elicit sympathy of the viewing audience for the degrading housing and laboring conditions of the subjects. As an outsider Hine sought reform not a mirror of the life of the foreign born community.

Hine took many pictures of Slavic Americans; but no particular one really can represent these peoples for they worked in a variety of factories. Most labored in heavy industry, the coal and metal mines, the steel mills, packinghouses, and oil and sugar refineries. One of Hine's most famous prints is that of a mineworker taken in 1910 for the Russell Sage Foundation series on Pittsburgh social life, the Pittsburgh Survey it was called. The photograph shows a soft coal mineworker — he could easily be from the anthracite district, too — a husky specimen in grimy workclothes, with a face streaked with coal dust, looking blankly at the camera.[12] The picture certainly stimulates the viewers' sympathy for the man's working condition but the impact on his grandchildren would have to be devastating psychologically. It could well be one source of the current Polish American stereotype and anguish that present day adolescents feel. Michael Novak refers to that modern image of the group personality. "Ignatz Dombrowski, 274 pounds, five feet four who got his education by writing into a firm on a matchbook cover.[13] Whether they could give a precise sitation for it or not, present day Slavic Americans feel the effects of that Hine photograph. This "hunky" image still disturbs the present generation yearning now more that ever for middle class status. Mineworking is a blue-collar job that most Americans and therefore most Slavic Americans would prefer to forget.[14]

The Polish and Slavic American heritage is indeed one of nearly universally working class origins. Over four-fifths of the Polish immigrants who came to America in the 1860-1920 period settled in cities as unskilled hands for the labor needs of our growing heavy industry. Thus the Hine photograph is a largley true representation of the job these immigrants had. But the important fact for today's Slavic youth, educators, and Americans as a whole to remember is that the photograph does have its limitations in conveying reality. It is a snapshot only, a moment in time that preserves only a tiny segment of the ethnic experience, in this case the foreigner at work. We still have no sense of his feelings, of his attitude toward his job, or most importantly of his life when not at work. Uncovering that total dimension of Slavic American life, the holistic quality of those groups ought to be one of the major goals of the new ethnic curricula.

Before this paper expands on this objective, how education in Northeastern Pennsylvania can modify its curriculum in that direction, and the resulting intellectual and psychological benefits, it will deal with this disturbing proletarian heritage in another way. In a truly democratic and humanitarian society, Hine's photographic image and the upsetting "hunky" ancestry ought not to embarrass young Slavic Americans. All work, whether blue or white collar should merit its own respect. Ideally, all the tasks necessary to make our society function should be given a certain measure of dignity whether it be collecting trash or performing neuro-surgery. And some young people feel a pride in designating their proletarian ancestors. But of course in reality most Americans still base status distinctions on one's job so the inferior working class heritage remains.

The stereotype of the East European type can be made more human by simply conveying the totality of the mineworkers' existence. These immigrant peoples functioned not only as laborers in the mines and elsewhere as Hine did so graphically show but also as individuals within a vibrant, highly stratified and complex ethnic society. While consisting of largely unskilled workers, the Polish, Slovak, and Ruthenian or Ukrainian communities in Eastern Pennsylvania contained a small number of extremely important middle and even upper class leaders about whom we really know little but who gave a vibrant dimension to Slavic group life here and throughout America. It is that ethnic elite, the clergymen, business leaders, editors, fraternal officials and saloonkeepers even writers and artists whom historians and educators ought to incorporate into their ethnic studies instruction. The entire profile of the groups and their total experience will then emerge revealing the host of institutions constructed, the churches, saloons, newspapers, cultural groups of various sorts. It was these factors which gave Slavic societies here that little known richness.

Students ought not to mistake the individuals here referred to as ethnic "elite." For a long time ethnic group profiles have identified them as distinguished group members — one might refer to them as "heroes" — who have made significant "contributions" to American society. Examples are such personalities not only as early group participants in the discovery and founding of our nation, Columbus, Salomon, and Kosciuszko, but also certain liberal democratic refugees, Kossuth, Garibaldi, and Paderewski, famous scientists like Madame Curie, opera stars like Jan Kiepura, movie heroines like Carol Landis and Gilda Grey, and muscians like Gene Krupa and Wanda Landowska.[15] Referring to these "greats" does have some benefit to young group members so that they have their own group models. But grievously neglected in all works and far more valuable to know for both group members and others are the less familiar array of Slavic leaders, architects of the local community who had far more influence on their constituents and were more representative of group ethnicity. In simple terms I am advocating a new effort by educators in cultivating local institutional and family history. For you it ought to include the East European leaders in the anthracite area as well as non-Slavic ones.

My historical research has identified a host of Polish, Slovak, and other Slavic figures and issues at least some of which all school children here ought to know. For example, an extremely important exponent of Polish American labor organization whom I discovered in my book helped his people in their struggle for industrial justice was Paul Pulaski of Mt. Carmel. He was a superb recruiter for the United Mine Workers in the epic struggles of 1900 and 1902 effectively acting as intermediary for the UMW leadership and the Slavic rank and file. Undoubtedly his early birth in America in 1869, his likeable personality, and his ability to restrain his more ardent countrymen gained him wide respect among all workers. In his role as intermediary he was really an agent of adjustment for East European and I would contend an excellent model for Polish young people searching for group protectors of the weak.[16]

Another, prominent Pole in anthracite, the occupational antithesis of Pulaski was Emil Malinowski of Nanticoke. Malinowski like Pulaski was a group leader but unlike the man from Mt. Carmel was a very successful businessman. His commercial interests included brewing and especially banking; he was head of the Miners' Trust Company in his hometown. He was more of an ethnic leader than Pulaski, part owner of Górnik, the major Polish newspaper; president of the Polish Union, a fraternal association in Wilkes-Barre; and he received a Polish Government decoration for his nationalist work to reconstruct the new Polish Republic after World War I. This role of Malinowski and other Polish Americans in rebuilding of the new Polish state ought to be recognized especially by today's youth as they consider their immigrant forebearers.[17]

The religious history of the Poles in this region is another exciting drama full of models — a fascinating experience of internal factionalism between nationalists and clericalists resulting in the unusual birth of a new denomination — the Polish National Catholic Church. The leader of the loyal Roman Catholic forces was the Rev. Venvenuto Gramliewicz of Nanticoke who was one of the most influential Polish clerics in America. He spent nearly half a century, 1877-1925, as pastor of Holy Trinity Parish in Nanticoke and served as consultor to the Scranton diocese.[18] The courageous and irrepressible founder of the new denomination, Polish National Catholicism, was the Rev. Francis Hodur who fought the loyal Roman Catholics on nationalist grounds and eventually brought together other independent factions around the country to establish his new church.

Thus the story of these figures proves that Polish American history in Northeastern Pennsylvania is a far more dynamic record than the image of a mass of simple clods slaving away in the mines and barely existing in mining patches and squalor. While most did work hard at arduous jobs these people were also participants in a lively ethnic community struggling to fashion a life of its own by various mutual aid and self-help agencies.

This advice to the schools here to exploit more fully regional and local history of all ethnic groups does not resolve fully the dilemma noted above that teachers find themselves in currently. Schools are at a crossroads in curriculum reform and some new ethnic spokesmen have gone beyond simply requesting that the southern and eastern European peoples simply be included in courses of study. They are also suggesting that this WASP-induced oppression of the new immigrant groups be exposed as well. Like the insistence of non-white militants who urged schools show the villainy of white racism, some new ethnics appear to want educational institutions to indicate the inequity of the Melting Pot. Should instruction have that as its goal? Should education help alleviate the white ethnic feeling of unworthiness by blaming Anglo-America and its intellectual allies for what former Vice President Agnew called "snobbery?"

Basing his response on Michael Novak's bitter anit-WASP polemic, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, Harvard educational sociologist Nathan Glazer recently voiced his own fears that the new ethnic studies curricula might make the same mistakes as the older Black Studies programs. Glazer warned that organizers of the new curriculum, anxious to meet white ethnic demands may well overcompensate and distort our past in behalf of our Southern and Eastern European minorities. Some instructors, for example, might even identify the real Father of Our Country as Washington's aide, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, rather than Washington himself.[19]

Professor Glazer is correct in identifying a potential danger of the new ethnic educational reform but it is hardly likely. In no sense does the new ethnic movement have the massive support of group members as the earlier civil rights movement. Whatever the factitious nature of the new ethnic demands, our little known white ethnic population should be given a share of the school curirculum, particularly in areas like yours. Slavs will be satisfied with being recognized as being a part of our culture; they do not wish to dominate it. It would be indeed regrettable if some ethnic studies teacher used the melting pot, that is the forced Americanization of groups, the callousness and insensitivity of the WASP Establishment, as the exclusive basis for ethnic instruction. That would not only exacerbate tensions but more fundamentally be an erroneous reading of American diversity. While group conflict and exploitation have been a part of our past and certainly ought to be included in any new ethnic studies curriculum, the overriding theme of American pluralism in reference to its white minorities should be how such a diverse society has been so successful. Despite the apparent anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism in our tradition, the social system has worked well for those groups.

Thus again this paper proposes that the schools present ethnic life in its human totality. Even if the past has been largely working class in character, workers were also people with interests that transcended their job. Then and now a worker read and wrote, helped raise a family, attended church, voted, pursued a vocation, and supported and joined a wide variety of economic, political, cultural, and fraternal causes and associations. Through the methods of local history, especially oral and family history, teachers can encourage students to probe that complexity of Slavic American life in the anthracite fields. An inevitable, though not purposive, result will be the disappearance or weakening of that "hunky" complex from which East European Americans suffer so much today. Their young people may be better able to place themselves in that holistic tradition which Erikson says is so essential to the adolescents' identity-making process.

Further, the new ethnic studies, or more accurately, the new ethnic reform of our traditional American social studies curriculum will benefit non-ethnic students as well. All will better understand what has been the mystery of America's " dynamic pluralism. The regrettable temptation in teaching American diversity has been to identify minority peoples stereotypically — the Polish miner, the Italian scavenger, the Jewish needle trades' worker, and so on — as one-dimensional characters in the American drama. By showing the inherent complexity of each group, that it contained both lower and upper class members, an elite as well as a rank and file, we can obtain a more realistic idea of group membership as well as how these peoples changed over time. The elite organized and built institutions and had considerable influence on their group members. That influence enabled the masses to adjust to American life. Pulaski, Malinowski, Gramliewicz, and Hodur all performed valuable service in enabling their followers to fit into New World society. So in that sense utilizing the incredibly fertile local history, as the legendary Eastern Pennsylvania folklife which George Korson captured in his publications, students and teachers, and the entire area will learn more about that kind of Americanization.[20]

The ethnic studies legislation approved and funded by Congress in 1974 and 1975 offers educators an extraordinary opportunity to enrich our American curriculum. If the laws are implemented dispassionately and the necessary curricular tools are forthcoming, I foresee not only a more humanistic quality to public education here and elsewhere but also the emergence of a new self -confidence among our white minorities. Pride in one's ethnic heritage need not be based solely on Anglo-American expolitation but rather on that more complex historical reality of group accomplishment.

FOOTNOTES

1. I am summarizing the comments of Professor Arthur Mann of the University of Chicago in response to my lecture, "Old Ethnic Stereotypes and the New Ethnic Studies," given April 26, 1975 at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. I am certain he speaks for a distinguished group of American educators.

2. The best survey of the development of this image is the aptly titled article of Philip Gleason, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion and Confusion," *American Quarterly* (Spring, 1964), 16:20-46, esp. 40-41.

3. Marcus Hansen, *The Problem of the Third Generation* (Rock Island, Illinois, 1938).

4. See Howard F. Stein and Robert Hill, "The New Ethnicity and the White Ethnic in the United States; An Exploration in the Psycho-Cultural Genesis of Ethnic Irredentism," *Canadian Review of Studies of Nationalism* (Fall, 1973), 1:88, 94, 98.

5. From John Fante, "The Odyssey of a Wop," *The American Mercury* (September, 1933), 30; 91-93, in Maurice R. Davie, *World Immigration* (New York, 1949), 278-279.

6. Neil Sandburg, "The Changing Polish American," *Polish-American Studies* (Spring, 1974), 31:12.

7. Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York, 1972), 53-55.

8. I largely agree with Rudolph Vecoli, "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History," in Herbert Bass, ed., *The State of American History* (New York, 1970), 70-88.

9. Rowland Berthoff, "The Social Order of the Anthracite Region, 1825-1902," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (July, 1965), 89:261-291.

10. He appears to continue the bias of Rev. Peter Roberts, *Anthracite Coal Communities* (New York, 1904), in many ways an encyclopedic compilation of the region's social life. Note especially Roberts' fixation about 'Sclavs' alcoholism.

11. Judith Mara Gutman, *Lewis W. Hine and the American Social Conscience* (New York, 1967).

12. *Ibid.*, 119, entitled "Slavic Coal Miner."

13. Quoted in Novak, *Unmeltable Ethnics*, 60.

14. I have no precise Slavic evidence for this but see the widely known essay of Harvey Swados, "The Myth of the Happy Worker," in Leon Litwack, ed., *The American Labor Movement* (New York, 1962), 169-176, who refers to the blue collars' frustrated hopes in achieving middle class status.

15. N. B. Joseph Wytrwal, *America's Polish Heritage* (Detriot, 1961), esp. 80-81.

16. Victor Greene, *Slavic Community on Strike* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1968), 158-159.

17. From Rev. Francis Bolek, et al., eds., *Who's Who in Polish America* (New York, 1943), 283, a work that should be in every town or school library.

18. *Ibid.*, 142; Rev. John Gallagher, *A Century of History: The Diocese of Scranton: 1868-1968* (Scranton, 1968), pp. 154-263, another invaluable work.

19. See his "Ethnicity and the Schools," *Commentary* (September, 1974), 58:55-59 and our exchange in Ibid., (December, 1974), 58:26,28.

20. E.g. George Korson, *Minstrels of the Mine Patch* (Philadelphia, 1938).

THE JEWISH PEOPLE

by

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Jews form a family linked by common experiences, a common history and a common spiritual heritage. The will to survive has its roots in Jewish conviction that Judaism and that Jewish people are the people of Covenant, called by G-d to function in a unique way within mankind as a whole. The Covenant created the bond between the Jews and G-d, thence between Jews and Jew; it has become so internalized that even those who may be unaware of its power have retained their allegiance to the Jewish people as its embodiment. Out of the Covenant we come to understand also the place and function of Jewish law. Law is the condensation of the spirit of the Covenant into action; it is both imposed and organic: it grew out of the encounter with G-d and out of the spirit of the Jewish people and its needs, hence it evolved. It has served as the unifying bond among Jews and contributed to their survival without making them into a legalistic community.[1]

CAPSULE OF JEWISH HISTORY

Jewish history started with Abraham who discovered the one G-d. He was called in those days, a "Hebrew" because he crossed a river into Palestine, the land promised to the descendants of Abraham forever by G-d. This faith was passed on to his son Isaac and grandson Jacob.

The children of Jacob and the generations that followed lived hundreds of years in Egypt, most of the time as salves. Moses, selected by G-d, let his people out of Egypt, out of slavery and into freedom. At Mount Sinai, G-d reestablished his Covenant with the Jewish people and revealed his Law. The Jews accepted G-d and His Law.

After wandering in the wilderness for 40 years, the Jews conquered Palestine and lived there for over 1,000 years. In 70 ACE they were exiled by Rome. All that remained of the Holy Temple was a section of the Western Wall, revered unto this very day.

For close to 1900 years the Jews were in exile moving from Babylonia to Rumania North Africa, Spain, France, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Russia and many others countries. In all these countries they lived as temporary residents on the sufferance of the rulers. They were considered strangers. Victims of anti-semitism, special taxes and programs, they survived as best they could. For certain periods they were banished from such countries as England and Spain. It wasn't until the 1800's that they were granted some of the same civil rights in West European countries as the nationals possessed. In eastern Europe, they never achieved equal rights.

In the early 19th century small groups of Jews emigrated to America seeking better economic conditions. These groups came primarily from Germany and Bavaria. In the late 19th and in the beginning of the 20th centuries millions of Jews emigrated from eastern Europe to America escaping difficult economic conditions and anti-semitism and drawn by the lure of large numbers of jobs awaiting immigrants in the expanding factories of the large cities.

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[1] Leo Trepp in A HISTORY OF THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE (New York, Behrman, 1972).

There were many sects in Judaism that rose, challenged the main stream and vanished. The Sadducees, for example, saw the only way to preserve Torah in strict obedience to the written word.

The Essenes rejected civilization in its entirety. To them the world of judgement was at hand. We know of them primarily through the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The Pharisees gave Judaism its character and strength. They ranked among the greatest masters of humanity as teachers and as representatives of the highest ethical perfection. They discovered the way in which Judaism could survive and the path has been followed ever since. They were utterly devoted to the preservation of their heritage. No longer was Judaism to be left solely in the hands of the priests but rather in the hands of all those dedicated. . .priest or layman, rich or poor, native born Jew or one of a convert. Liberal in ideas but strict in observance, they had the flexibility to adjust Judaism after the destruction of the Temple.

They tell the story of a heathen who came to the scholar Shammai and said, "You may convert me if you can teach me the Torah while I stand on one foot." Shammai threw him out of his home. He came to the other scholar Hillel who converted him by saying, "Do not do to your neighbor what would be hateful to you were it done to you. This is the entire Torah, Now go and study it." (Shabbat 31 a).

Ben Zoma in Avot 4:1 said:

> "Who is wise? He who learns from every man.
>
> Who is strong? He who conquers his evil passions.
>
> Who is rich? He who is happy with his share of life.
>
> Who deserves honor? He who honors all men."

At the time of the Romans, the study of and practice of Torah was prohibited by Emperor Hadrian. Unmindful of danger, Rabbi Akiba went on teaching. Asked why he did not give up, he replied with a parable: "A fox once called out to the fishes in the brook; 'Come ashore and escape the dangers of being caught by the big fish of prey.' 'No', they replied, 'water is the element of our life. If we leave it we perish. If we stay, some will die, but the rest will live.'" Rabbi Akiba concluded: "Torah is our element of life. Some of us may perish in the trials of these days; but as long as there is Torah, the people will live." Akiba was among those who gave their lives.

Today, in America, there are three major denominations in Jewish life.

Orthodoxy — Maintains total link with past.

Conservatism — Maintains that as people evalue new traditions and they become accepted they become as important as the old.

Reform — Maintains that individuals can select of the old what is vital and binding. No laws are binding.

KEY JEWISH BOOKS

The Bible. . . .	It consists of three sections, the Pentateuch, the Prophets and Collected writings. It is important to point out that both in the authorized Jewish translation and in the books included, the Jewish version of the Bible has significant differences from Christian versions.
Mishnah.	This book contains the earliest summary of the legal discussions covering several hundred years after the giving of the Torah.
Talmud.	Accumulation of close to six hundred years of discussion, commentary and legal decisions during the period following the redaction of the Mishnah.
Shulchan Aruch..	Compilation of daily requirements of Jewish life.
Prayer Book. . .	Collection of psalms, praises, blessings, petitions, excerpts from the Bible arranged for use at morning, afternoon, evening, Sabbath and Holiday services.
Torah Scroll. . .	Handwritten scroll containing the entire Pentateuch, out of which a section is read every Sabbath and Holiday morning as well as on Monday and Thursday mornings.

KEY SIGNS

TALLIS	The prayer shawl, with special fringes at each corner, is worn by the Jewish male at morning service.
TEFILLIN	Two leather covered cubes containing parchments are attached to the forehead and left bicep of the Jewish male (above the age of 13) with straps. They are worn during morning services except on Sabbath and holidays.
MEZUZAH	Small container with a scroll inside which is attached to the side door post of doorway at entrance to Jewish home as well as inside doorways.

Traditional Jews have for many centuries worn a head covering at all times. Those who took a less rigorous approach, wore the hat at home and at religious services. Frequently the hat is a small skull cap. It is considered showing respect in the presence of the King of Kings.

The functions of the Orthodox Rabbi are twofold.

1. See that rules laid down in codes are strictly enforced.
2. Render decisions in problematic religious cases.

WHAT IS YIDDISH AND WHAT IS HEBREW?

Hebrew is the original language of the Bible. It reads from right to left. All basic books of Judaism including the Prayerbook, are written in Hebrew. It is used daily in Israel and is a living language. Yiddish developed about 500 years ago among the Jews living in Germany and is derived from a mixture of German and Hebrew using Hebrew letters. It became the daily language of millions of Jews who lived in Eastern Europe and developed an enormous literature. As Jews from Eastern Europe moved all over the world, Yiddish became a kind of "langau franca", enabling for example, American born Jews to speak easily with Jews from Russia, Israel, Poland, and Hungary. Jews from Spain, North Africa and the Middle East do not understand Yiddish. Instead they have an everyday language called Ladino.

THE JEWISH YEAR

The Jewish religious year upon which all festivals are based is a lunar one. All festivals start the evening before and end at dusk the next day.

The Sabbath	The Jews introduced the concept of a restday every seven days. It is marked by a complete cessation from work. There are special ceremonies at its beginning and end. There are beautiful religious services, unique foods and many beautiful family traditions.
Rosh Hashana & Yom Kippur	The Jewish High Holidays. A time for repentence and judgement. Yom Kippur is marked by total fasting. The Shofar or ram's horn is sounded on both holidays.
Sukkot	Festival of Tabernacles. Eight day long fall holiday in which families eat together in temporary huts erected near their homes. It commemorates period when Jewish people lived in temporary residences during the 40 years they wandered in a desert after leaving Egypt with Moses.
Hanukah	Eight day long winter festival commemorating victory of Jewish people in year 186 BCE over Greek forces. Marked by lighting a candelabra each evening with one additional light each evening.
Purim	Happy early spring festival commemorating victory of Jews of Persia over tyrants who wished to destroy them.
Passover	Eight day long spring festival marking exodus from Egypt. Considered holiday of freedom. Matzohs or unleavened bread are eaten for eight days. Special feasts, called SEDERS, are conducted on first 2 nights.
Shavuos	Two day festival at the end of the Spring commemorates the giving of the Ten Commandments to the Jewish people on Mount Sinai. It is marked by the floral decoration of the synagogue and home and the easting of dairy dishes.

There are a number of days of mourning in the Jewish calendar. Chief among these is TISHA B'AV or the ninth of the Hebrew month of AV, which takes place in mid-summer. This fast day commemorates the destruction of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem thousands of years ago.

PATH OF LIFE

Birth	On the eighth day after birth of a Jewish boy, he is circumcized by a special person. The Hebrew word for circumcision is Bris which means also Covenant. By virtue of this act, the child is initiated into the Jewish people. He is also given his Hebrew name. Girls are named at a regular synagogue service several days after birth.
Education	Each child is given a Jewish education from nursery age on wherein he learns the Hebrew language, is introduced to the Bible, the tenets traditions and customs of Judaism and history of his people. Such an education can be held several afternoons a week after public school or in a day school where half of each day is devoted to Hebrew studies.
Bar Mitzvah Bas Mitzvah	At age 13, a Jewish boy comes of age (12 for a girl) and must henceforth accept adult Jewish responsibilities. Usually the youngster demonstrates at a Sabbath service his ability to conduct the service.
Marriage	The goal of every Jewish parent is to lead their child to the bridal canopy where he will wed another Jewish young person and begin another Jewish family.
Divorce	Though divorce is frowned upon, it is permitted. A religious divorce must accompany a secular one.
Conversion	Conversion of non-Jews to Judaism are discouraged especially where the goal is marriage. A sincere convert must study Judaism for many months under the supervision of a rabbi and undertake to live fully as a Jew before the final ceremonies marking the conversion take place.
Death and Burial	The Jewish funeral is quick, and unostentatious. The body is cleansed by a holy society, dressed in simple shrouds and usually placed in a simple wooden casket. There is no viewing of the body and burial is usually within a day or two of the death. Mourning takes place usually in the home of the deceased for a week. The immediate relatives restrict their activities for an entire year in the case of a death of a parent. Male relatives usually attend services daily for a year to recite the Kaddish, a sanctification of the name of G-d, recited in memory of the deceased.

Dietary Laws

Jewish are forbidden to eat meat from any animal which does not chew its cud or have a split hoof. Only fish that have fins and scales may be eaten. Only certain fowl, which are not birds of prey, may be eaten. These living creatures must be slaughtered in a humane way described by Jewish tradition. Meat from these fowl and animals must be salted and soaked to drain the blood from their flesh. There is a complete separation of meat and dairly implements, pots, and dishes nor can dairy and meat foods be eaten together. Many commercial products are imprinted with a U which indicates that it is kosher.

Maintaining the dietary laws is a crucial factor in the lives of many Jewish families both in the home and outside. It can limit or prevent these people from eating non-kosher restaurant or a non-Jewish home. There is no restriction for example, on such items as fresh fruits, nuts and fresh vegetables.

IN LUZERNE COUNTY

The Jewish residents of Luzerne County trace their history back positively about 140 years and by legend perhaps back another 50 years. The life of this Jewish community is similar to hundreds around the world. Its settlers came from huge centers of Jewish life in Russia, Poland, Hungary and Germany. At present these centers are very small except for Russia, a result of the murder of 6,000,000 Jews by the Nazis between 1938-45.

As of June, 1974, as a result of a Census[2] conducted by the JCC, it was determined that there was a total Jewish population of 4,425 individuals, including 1,294 under the age of 21. They were all part of 1,838 different households.

The overwhelming number of families lived in Kingston and Wilkes-Barre; with clusters in Dallas, Pittston, Forty Fort and Mountaintop. Since the Flood of 1972, there has been a steady movement of families from the major sections of settlement in Kingston and Wilkes-Barre to more outlying areas.

With few exceptions, all Jewish families are affiliated with one or more of the four synagogues in this area.

Temple B'nai B'rith (Reformed)
United Orthodox Synagogue (Orthodox)
Congregation Ohav Zedek (Orthodox)
Temple Israel (Conservative)

The snyagogues (with the exception of the UOS) each sponsor religious educational classes for children as well as adults. In addition, the community supports the Israel Ben Zion Academy, an all day school in which half of the time is devoted to secular studies and half to religious studies.

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[2] Unpublished report of Census conducted in June, 1974 by the JCC of Wyoming Valley.

The prominent institution is the Jewish Community Center, now over 50 years old. Most Jews are affiliated with the JCC which provides a wide array of recreational and informal educational activities to its members ranging from pre-schoolers through colleageats, couples and older adults. Its impact on young people has resulted in close knit friendships in adult life leading consequently to a close knit community.

The Jewish Counseling Service provides case work counseling to families in need of assistance.

Other organizations such as Hadassah, Jewish War Veterans, Queen Esther Ladies Aid Society, Jewish Home, B'nai B'rith Men, B'nai B'rith Women, ORT and many more provide opportunities to meet the social cultural and philanthropic needs of the Jewish community.

A crucial organization is the Wyoming Valley Jewish Committee composed of representatives of all organized Jewish institutions and groups. The WVJC accepts responsibility for raising money to help defray expenses of humanitarian and welfare needs of international, national and local Jewish organizations. For instance, helping immigrants adjust to American life and aiding Jews in need in Iran, Romania and especially Israel are some of the ways such assistance is channelled.

Jews in Luzerne County are heavily involved in the business and commercial area. Many are involved in retail stores and distributed outlets. Others own small manufacturing plants. The professions such as medicine, law and accounting attract many Jews. Others teach in the public school level or the college level. Still others are involved in selling insurance, real estate, on the road sales and service enterprises.

There are a number of areas where Jews have made distinguished contributions to community life.

Philanthropy - participation and leadership in United Fund college campaign.

Culture - participation and leadership in Community Concerts, local theater groups.

Housing - B'nai B'rith apartments.

Business & Commerce - initiated and developed enumerable enterprises.

Professions - gave prestige and distinction to the various professions through individual ability.

WHERE DID LOCAL JEWS ORIGINATE?

Most Jews in Luzerne County derive originially (1,2, or 3 generations ago) from Eastern and Southeastern Europe, Russia, Poland and Hungary. The very earliest settlers derived from Bavaria.

Although Jews in Germany and Bavaria had obtained some degree of civil rights and access to secular education by the early 1800's, difficult economic and political times impelled the immigration to America of several hundred thousand Jews, some of whom were the first to arrive in Wilkes-Barre in 1835.

Jews from eastern Europe, deprived of all civil rights, flocked to America by the millions starting in the late 1800's and with their entry into Wilkes-Barre, formed the majority in short time.

In due time, cemeteries were started, synagogues founded and community life began to develop. The earliest centers of Jewish life were up in the Heights of Wilkes-Barre, then in south Wilkes-Barre and in recent decades, Kingston.

Although dialect, language of the country, and customs varied among the Jews who came to Wilkes-Barre from Germany, Russia and Hungary, and resulted for a time in a separateness, in time, the common religious heritage and the coming together in such institutions as the Jewish Community Center drew the younger people together until today there is almost no separation between these various groups.

Luzerne County was originally coal mine country. The earliest Jews were not miners but proprietors of small businesses and stores that catered to the needs of the mining families. Clothes, utensils and food were some of these needs.

BASIC VALUES

Religious	Jews have been stubborn believers in Judaism despite the enormous growth of Christianity. These beliefs in a single G-d, and in a code of ethical behavior were absorbed in both the development of Christianity and Islam. Although there are various denominations of Judaism, many of the basic concepts are common to all.
Education	Jews have always been known as the "People of the Book". Even during the middle ages when illiteracy was ripe throughout Europe, Jewish children everywhere learned to read and write Hebrew, studied the Bible and other basic books of Judaism. When various Western European countries in the 19th century permitted Jews to attend seculiar schools, large numbers did so.

In America, the opportunities of free public education were quickly taken up by immigrant Jews whose children flocked after high school into colleges. Today the huge majority of Jewish young people attend college and in increasing numbers are continuing onto graduate school.

Simultaneously, families consider it crucial for their children to receive a religious education. The various synagogues sponsor one, two or three day a week after school programs of education.

Israel

Jews all over the world have a close attachment to the land of Israel and the Jews living there. Since Biblical days, Jews have felt their destiny tied up with the land of Israel. After the dispersion from Palestine by the Romans, the prayers and hopes of Jews for millenia centered around Palestine. With the development of the Zionist movement in the middle of the 19th century, a worldwide trek of families back of Palestine began. Finally in 1949, the UN established a Jewish state, Israel, and the Third Jewish Commonwealth was in existence. Jews have since given moral and philanthropic support to the state. Hundreds of thousands of Jews, living in post World War II Europe flocked to the Jewish homeland when permission to emigrant was granted.

Today Jews from Russia and Romania continue to emigrate to Israel.

Federation

One of the basic conditions of Jewish existence in most European countries was the need to "take care of their own". Each community taxed each Jewish family to help the needy, the sick and the helpless. Here in Wilkes-Barre, the Jewish Federation under the aegis of the WVJC maintains the same tradition except on a voluntary level. Every Jewish family is requested to annually make a gift that will help local Jewish Welfare institutions as well as national and international ones.

Jews & Non-Jews

Although in the earlier years, the Jewish immigrants tended to keep themselves apart from non-Jews, the impact of public education and the desire to be very American developed ever closer ties between Jews and non-Jews. Concern has grown among Jewish families as the percentage of Jewish young people taking non-Jewish spouse has grown. This has spurred efforts to develop greater Jewish self-identification within Jewish Community Center clubs, more intense Jewish educational programs and greater investment in Jewish collegiate clubs.

Dropping Birth Rate

Within the past decade, the Jewish birth rate has plummetted. Rabbis and other Jewish leaders have realized that support of Zero Population Growth could reduce Jewish numbers of minuscule proportions. The call has gone out to young couples to consider planning for families of at least four children each.

REACTION TO THE FLOOD CAUSED BY HURRICANE AGNES:

Over 90% of the Jews in Wyoming Valley were directly effected by Hurricane Agnes with damage to their homes, to their businesses or both. All the religious institutions were partially or totally destroyed. For the first time in American history, the organized Jewish communities of America made a concerted effort to help rebuild a terribly ravaged community. Specialists of every variety were sent here to help local leadership plan the restoration. Funds were made available almost immediately without interest so that owners could immediately start rebuilding their businesses. Grants were made to families to purchase needed clothes, furniture and appliances. Counseling was provided to assist families with difficult problems. Budgets of all religious and community institutions were guaranteed for a three year period until they could stand on their own feet. Jobs of all personnel of these institutions were thus preserved. When the local religious institutions and the Jewish Community Center accepted long term SBA loans in order to rebuild, the local Federation guaranteed payment of these loans for a number of years from funds collected from funds collected from all Jews in their annual campaign. The result was that the Jewish community of Wilkes-Barre literally bounced back. Very few families moved away. Homes were either rebuilt or new ones built. Businesses were soon back in operation. The community institutions were soon all rebuilt and working together to not only maintain but renew community life.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO LOCAL LIFE

It is evident that in the case of many ethnic groups, and especially the Jewish group, that while a group maintains an ancient faith and traditions along with a close loyalty to one another, they concurrently contribute to the overall quality of community life. America is all the richer because its tapestry is composed of threads in its warp and woof derived from dozens of unique ethnic groups who strive to preserve their traditional ways.

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SOME HIGHLIGHTS ON THE WELSH IN AMERICA

by

Edward George Hartmann, Ph.D.

Compared with other immigrant groups that came to America, the Welsh were few in numbers. In this respect, their numbers reflected the situation in the homeland itself. Wales is the second smallest of the European countries of significance. Only little Luxemburg is smaller. Today, Wales has a population of only some 2,650,000. But in the days of Welsh immigration to America, the population of the homeland was scarcely one million. Yet it sent over to our shores almost one-tenth of its population!

Records concerning American immigration have only been kept since 1820. Since that year, until 1973, some 94,490 immigrants have come over here from Wales. And, if we add the estimated 10,000-odd that came over prior to 1820, the grand total is 104,490 more or less. Not very many when we contrast this figure with the nearly seven million that came over from Germany, the five million from Italy, the four million plus from Ireland, the three million from England, the two million from the Yiddish-speaking lands, or the million and a half plus from Poland! Not very many, either, when contrasted with our good neighbors who came over from Slovakia and Lithuania, which are also small countries, 530,000 plus and 260,000 plus respectively.[1]

A conversative estimate, today, would enumerate those of Welsh stock (that is, immigrants, their children, and the descendants of the Welsh immigrants of the past 300 years) at one-half million Americans. A small figure compared to those of other immigrant groups. But this figure does not tell the complete story! I am reminded, in this respect, of the comment made by an elderly Welsh Baptist preacher friend, when I prodded him with a question. His little church was only two blocks away from another Baptist church. I wanted to know which of the two congregations was the larger, but I used the wrong word! "And which is the the stronger?" I asked. He answered with a twinkle in his eye: "Do you mean in numbers, or in SPIRIT?" And that answer I suspect can very well sum up the significance of the Welsh in American history. Small in numbers, indeed, but great in spirit! And, when it comes to evaluating the contributions of the Welsh stock to American life, it will be found that the Welsh have excelled far out of proportion to their numbers!

Welsh immigration to America can be divided chronologically into two categories: colonial and post-colonial. Colonial immigration, in turn, can be divided into two types: individual migration and group migration. We do not know very much about those hardy individual Welshmen, who joined the mass of other British immigrants to America in the 17th and 18th centuries, or how numerous they were. Suffice it to say, that they were many, and that individual family names of Welsh origin can be found everywhere among the settlers of all the thirteen colonies. Certain of these individual immigrants became the ancestors of many a later distinguished American.

On the other hand, we do know a great deal about the Welsh group migrations that resulted in the building up of distinctive Welsh settlements in Massachusetts, in Delaware, in South Carolina, and, of course, here in our own Pennsylvania. One thing all these colonial settlements had in common: they were all founded by refugees from the religious intolerance of the Britain of that period. All were founded by what were then called Welsh dissenters: the Baptists, the Quakers, and the Presbyterians, — people who did not see eye to eye with the King and the bishops of the official Church of England.

The largest of these ventures was that of the Welsh Quakers. They settled the so-called Welsh Tract to the west of Philadelphia, an area that is now the fashionable "Main Line" district. But many people do not realize that the Quakers were not the only Welshmen to settle in this area. Welsh Baptists, Welsh Presbyterians, and Welsh Anglicans, were also among those who came into the area. Some may not be aware either, that a second extensive Welsh settlement, called Gwenedd, grew up northwest of Philadelphia in present-day Montgomery County. Another extensive Welsh settlement evolved just south of the colonial boundary line which was referred to as the Delaware Welsh Tract. The other two Welsh colonial settlements were founded at Swansea, Massachusetts, in the north, and along the Pee Dee River in South Carolina. As for the famed city of brotherly love, the lure of the growing metropolis attracted numerous Welsh immigrants who settled and labored in its midst.

As we shall see subsequently, the church was the greatest institution of the Welsh immigrants. Twenty-one churches were founded by the Welsh during the colonial period, and all are still flourishing today. Although in most cases these congregations have replaced their old edifices with new buildings, three still have their old structures that were built in the 18th century. They are: Merion Friends' Meeting House, 1700, St. David's Episcopal Church, Wayne, 1715, and the Iron Hill Welsh Baptist Church, near Newark, Delaware, 1746. All are national historic monuments.[2]

All of these pioneer Welsh colonial settlements developed into thriving agricultural communities. They retained their Welsh consciousness, their Welsh speech, and their Welsh ways of life for over a century. The Welsh Tract of Pennsylvania was the largest and the most influential, some 6,000 strong. Its effect upon nearby Philadelphia was such that Welsh was the most frequently heard foreign language on the streets of that city during the early part of the 18th century.

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Welsh post-colonial immigration began in the 1790s and continued in growing strength until World War I. Although there has been some Welsh immigration since, the large-scale movement came to an end with the outbreak of that great struggle. Welsh immigration of the post-colonial period was primarily economic in motivation. The Welsh, as would be true of most of the other immigrants, wanted to better themselves in the new land of opportunity. Yet the attractiveness of the new American democracy should not be forgotten. For the democratically-minded Welshman, America in particular exerted a great magnetic pull, and many undoubtedly came over because of dissatisfaction with the political situation in the homeland.

Those who came in the early decades of the 19th century were agriculturally-minded, and they settled in the rich farming areas then being opened-up in Oneida County, New York, Cambria County Pennsylvania, and the Ohio country generally; and then, in later years, in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, and other areas of the great west.

Our own area of Pennsylvania was not forgotten. And it may come as a surprise to learn that the oldest existing Welsh settlements of our area were made by Welsh farmers. Three such small agricultural Welsh settlements made their appearance in northeastern Pennsylvania: at Neath in eastern Braford County, some ten miles northwest of Montrose, in 1833: at Welsh Hill in Susquehanna County, between Clifford and the Elk Mountain winter resort, in 1835; and at Spring Brook on the Daleville highway, Lackawanna County, in 1839.

The descendants of the original Welsh settlers are still there, and consciousness of Welsh heritage is still strong. So, too, are the three Congregational churches; and, although services are no longer in Welsh, the old Welsh pulpit Bibles are proud possessions, and can be found along side the English pulpit Bibles that have replaced them. For those who would like to catch a bit of the flavor of rural Wales, I recommend that you drive up and visit these little churches, surrounded by their churchyards where rest the original Welsh pioneers. With the mountains in the background, one can easily imagine oneself in rural Wales. Do go up some Sunday, and if possible, join in the church services. I am sure that you will be received with traditional Welsh hopitality.

By the 1840s, however, the farm-minded Welsh were joined by thousands of skilled-workers, attracted by the opportunities and higher wages of the newly developing iron and coal industries, the slate industry, and, by the turn of the century, the tinplate industry. In time, those of an industrial background and know-how greatly outnumbered those who were interested in farming.

America's indebtedness to these pioneer farmers is indeed great. But America's indebtedness to the Welsh skilled immigrants is even greater. It was these latter who furnished the leadership in management and the technical skill so necessary for these developing industries. Without Welsh know-how and intelligence, their development would have been spragged quite seriously.

Accompanying the farmers, the coal-miners, the quarreymen, and the steel-workers, was a minority of tradesmen, businessmen, and professional people, who sought new opportunities, too. Most of these chose to settle in America's growing cities. Here, in time, they were joined by others from nearby Welsh agricultural or industrial settlements to form the nucleii of distinctly Welsh colonies in many of America's leading cities.

Thus in various parts of America, there grew up during the 19th century, Welsh agricultural settlements, Welsh industrial settlements, and Welsh large-city settlements. And, because of that everconsciousness of Welsh heritage, all were linked together in one way or another culturally, and very definitely religiously![3]

Fortunately, statistics are available as to the strength of this post-colonial Welsh immigration. The year, 1900, in generally accepted as the peak year in evaluating this migration. As of that year, there were 93,744 Welsh immigrants and some 173,416 children in America, to form a total of 267,160 of the first and second generation stock. Five states, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Illinois, and Wisconsin, had the bulk of these. The rest were distributed throughout the nation.

Pennsylvania even as was true during the colonial period, had the greatest concentration, 100,143, almost one-third of the entire group! And becoming more specific, the two adjoining hard-coal counties of Luzerne and Lackawanna had a total of some 41,000 between them—almost one-fifth of all the Welsh in America! Thus the greatest concentration of Welshmen outside the homeland was to be found in the twenty-four mile stretch of the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys, a concentration only equalled at that time by that of metropolitan London, itself.[4]

And it is this latter type of immigrant that is of greatest interest here. For in this area, the word Welsh meant coal miner; to be more explicit, experienced coal miner. And it is that word experienced that will affect the whole story of Welsh immigration in this area in contrast to most of the other ethnic groups. And it is at this point that I should like to call the attention of my colleague, Rowland T. Berthoff's fine book, British Immigrants in Industrial America. Professor Berthoff researched this aspect of Welsh immigration. I should like to summarize his conclusions in this respect.

The Welsh, along with many of the English and the Scots, arrived as experienced skilled-workers from Britain, the homeland of the Industrial Revolution. They did so in contrast to the great bulk of the Irish and the later immigrants from eastern and southern Europe who were usually of farm background, and had no particular labor skills of value to the new nation except the rough work normally associated with unskilled labor.[5] Unlike these latter groups, too, the Welsh working men did not come merely hoping for work. They moved from the Welsh coal mines to their American equivalents knowing that skilled jobs awaited them. And there were plenty of them who could come: there were some 300,000 British miners in 1860; some half-million in 1890—at least one-third of these in Wales.[6]

Although the Welsh are normally thought of as the chief British immigrant group associated with early coal-mining, it must be remembered that there were also scores of English and Scots, and even a small percentage of Irish (who had gone to the larger island from coalless Ireland, and had become experienced coal miners there).[7] In any case, coal mining was an exacting skill in the early days of the development of that industry. One obtained the coal through the skillfull use of the pick. As one writer described it:

> Crouching or lying on his side, the collier carefully undercut the seam until a driven wedge or a light powder charge could bring it crashing. Unexcelled at working thin veins in the homeland, immigrant British miners could use the pick in the narrowest space, right and left, and in all positions.... Holding it in front and making short, quick strokes, the pick is effective in their hands in a space of three or four feet (or even less). In order to service they also had to know the art of shoring up min ceilings with timbers and to recognize the deadly fumes of black damp and white damp.[8]

With this type of experience, there was a constant demand for British miners in America, and since the Welsh mined the only anthracite fields in Britain, the demand for Welsh know-how in our own anthracite region was very understandable. From the 1830s onward, the Welsh were the most numerous among the miners working in the anthracite fields. Indeed, so great was the demand for their skilled experience, that the mine owners of the Carbondale area dispatched two Welsh preachers home to Wales to recruit new workers. A flood of Welsh miners then set in bound for Carbondale, Pottsville, Pittston, Scranton, and Wilkes-Barre. As one traveler in South Wales put it in 1857:

> Every collier that I talked to had either a father, brother, son, uncle, nephew, cousin, or at least some near friend in America—and had been cogitating about going himself.[9]

So, in the anthracite coal mines of the mid-century, and, indeed, well into the post-Civil War period, the Welsh formed (to use a term coined by Professor Berthoff) a type of "underground aristocracy", forming the experienced hands engaged in the better-paid task of getting the coal. And, although there were miners from England, Scotland, and some of Irish extraction who had worked in the coal-pits of Britain, the other ethnic groups, the Pennsylvania Dutch, native Americans, and the bulk of the Irish who had come straight from a coal-less Ireland, served at first as laborers above and below ground.[10] In time, these other groups learned enough to join the "underground aristocracy", and by 1885 many of the Irish, in particular, were classified as skilled miners and were enjoying the higher wages of their new position.[11]

American coal-mining methods eventually rendered the old type of British training obsolete. It became cheaper to blast the coal from the solid than to undercut the vein with the pick. American ingenuity also developed new machinery for the necessary undercutting. As professor Berthoff points out:

> These technological advances heralded the advent of the Italian and Slavic laborers among the mineworkers beginning in the 1870s. Clumsy they might be, but with exposives and machines they could send more coal to the breakers and yet work for less than the old pickmen. Stripping and surface mining could be done completely by the newcomers.[12]

These changes marked the beginnings of the end of Welsh dominance of coal-mining as well as that of the other so-called "older" nationalities. The change of ethnic background among the mine-workers went on steadily during the 1890s and the first decade of the 20th century. Fewer and fewer Welshmen were to be found, and the demand for the old type of skilled Welsh miner ceased. With it went a drop off in Welsh miner immigration to the United States, for America had nothing to offer them in a special way. By 1910, in a typical mine opened by the Welsh and dominated by them for some 30 years, the work force consisted of:

managers and superintendants: Welsh
foremen and bosses: Irish
contract miners: Poles and Lithuanians
outside laborers: Slovaks, Ruthenians and Italians

By 1914, only 5% of the underground workers and 4% of the outside workers were Welsh or other British; the so-called "New" immigrants comprised 65% and 40% of these groups.[13]

Thus the Welsh and others moved up the ladder when unskilled laborers and new machines took over their old jobs. They continued, however, to dominate in the field of coal management well into the 20th century as foremen, mine captains and inspectors, superintendents, and in some cases, mine owners.[14] I need only cite two examples of the latter: Morgan B. Williams, who owned and operated the Red Ash Coal Company in the Wilkes-Barre area; he later served as Congressman from Luzerne County in the 1890s. Daniel Edwards, who owned and operated the Kingston Coal Company in the area named in his honor, Edwardsville.

On the other side of the ledger—in the early battle to unionize the workers for a better piece of the economic pie, the story is not dominated by the Welsh or any other ethnic group. Rather, it is the contribution of the British-oriented miners as a whole. Unionization had already begun in Britain by the time of their arrival in America, and many of the miners brought their ideas of trade-unionism with them. Welsh, English, and Irish were all active, and some Germans, too.

The earliest effort to unionize was headed by John Bates, an English miner, with Welsh, Irish and English assistants, in Pennsylvania in 1849; it failed. Others were active in later years. John Siney, Irish-born, but a skilled miner from

Lancashire, England, organized the Miners and Laborers Benevolent Association in 1870, aided by Welsh, Irish, English, and German associates. So it was a mixed crowd that led the early union efforts.[15] Among the Welsh leaders were William T. Lewis, who later served as Commissioner of Labor for Ohio; his brother, Thomas L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America in the early 20th century; Edwin Perry, secretary of the same group in the pre-World War I days, and of course, the great John L. Lewis, a household name for some fifty years in this area.

In due time, the union efforts lined up the "new" nationalities, but English-speakers tended to dominate mine-unions well into the 1920s. It was said at that time that most of the locals had a Welsh, Irish, or English president, with the other officials being of Polish, Lithuanian, Slovak or Italian background.[16] On the other hand, it was comparatively easy for a Welshman, Englishman, Scot, or Irishman to end up on the side of management. Having talents desired by industry, many ended up foremen, superintendents and allies of the operators.[16]

In the early days, the Welsh miners trained their children to take their places in the coal mines, but as the years passed by the children and grandchildren of the Welsh miners ceased to be interested in mining, probably because of the great risk to life among other things, and turned their attention to other economic activities in the developing America. And that there was great rish to life in coal mining, I need not remind you! Many of you have probably had a relative killed in the mines. The Welsh, as would be true of the other ethnic groups, had their share of those killed due to mine disasters. Indeed, the greatest mine disaster in American history occurred right here in our own Wyoming Valley on September 6, 1869. 110 men and boys died in the great Avondale disaster, trapped in the underground workings. Of the 110, all but 9 were Welsh![17]

So many of the Welsh turned their attention to other economic activities. In this respect, they found the transition a comparatively easy one, unlike the experience of many of the other ethnic groups then settling in the United States. The Welsh immigrants, although most spoke Welsh, were also fluent English-speakers. They came from a Protestant environment and settled in what was then a Protestant-dominated America. Their cultural background made the new world less bewildering than it was to most of the other ethnic newcomers. No strange religion or other habits separated them from the native Americans. Because of all these things, the Welsh enjoyed a unique advantage over most of the other newcomers.

And, although the Welsh might have been resented in some quarters, they escaped the usual American ridicule of foreigners, for few Americans thought of them as such. Nor did their children feel that they were "caught between two worlds" as many authorities believe was the case with most of the other ethnic groups. As Professor Berthoff put it (referring to English, Scots and Welsh) and I agree from the basis of my own research:

> Thus in a sense the British-Americans has no 'second generation', no ill-adjusted class, like the children of less fortunate foreigners, without firm roots in either the old or the new culture. In effect their children were simply Americans, neither better nor worse adapted to the normal life of the country than the children of old-stock parents".[18]

That they were able to take advantage of this to the fullest accounts for their remarkable success story in America.

And now let us turn our attention to the Welsh immigrant communities as they functioned during the past one hundred years or more. What were the things most dear to these communities? In my opinion they were three, and in this order of importance: religion, music, and last (but not always least), politics! Let us have a look at each. First, religion. It is the opinion of this speaker, that with no other ethnic group in America did religion govern the group's activities and shape behavior patterns as it did the Welsh. And religion in this case meant Protestantism. For Wales, was then, and still is, one of the strongest Protestant countries in Europe. Accordingly the Welsh immigrants were over 98% Protestant in religious conviction. Religion also meant the non-conformist varieties of Protestantism, and here again the immigrants reflected the situation in the homeland, where 85% of the population is non-conformist, that is, non-official Church of England in its religious beliefs.

Religion also meant a strong emphasis upon Puritanism, upon keeping the Sabbath holy, and upon placing the utmost confidence in the ability of man to uplift himself through prayer, self-reliance, and (through what I suspect is so missing today) good, old-fashioned hard work. Whereever they settled, the Welsh set up their chapels, and in these "miniature-democracies-in-action", they educated five generations of new Americans, all imbued with the old Welsh love of liberty, religious freedom, and the dignity of man.

It follows that the Welsh could always be found to be strong supporters of all those movements in American life which attempted to uplift and to dignify mankind; the public school movement, the abolition of slavery, the temperance movement, and very dear to their hearts, the Christian missionary movement of the 19th and early 20th centuries. It follows, too, that whereever the Welsh settled, they strengthened the Protestant cause. Particularly did this loom important in the case of the industrial communities. Here, the Welsh were often the only immigrants of a Protestant background, in contrast to the many others of a Roman Catholic, Hebrew, or Eastern Orthodox religious heritage.

Some 582 churches were organized throughout America by the three major denominations of the Welsh: 117 by the Baptists, 229 by the Congregationalists, and 236 by the Calvinistic-Methodists or as they were called later, the Welsh Presbyterians. The largest churches founded by each of these denominations are located in this area. They are: Edwards Memorial Congregational Church of Edwardsville, the First Welsh Presbyterian Church of Wilkes-Barre, and the First Welsh Baptist Church of neighboring Scranton.

Time, Americanization, and movements elsewhere, have reduced the number of Welsh-American churches, so that today, only 195 still survive. 78 of these are in Pennsylvania, and 44 of them in this area: 29 in Wyoming Valley, and 15 in the Scranton area.[18]

Second only to their love for religion was the love of the Welsh for music. And in this respect, the Welsh were a strengthening factor whereever they settled in America. The arrival of Welsh in a given area often introduced music in a serious way for the first time. The amazing gift of choral singing enjoyed by the Welsh soon made their little chapels missions of musical culture in the midst of an otherwise sterile musical environment. And when in time, the inevitable eisteddfod made its appearance, some of these communities became music-minded for the first time in their existence.[19]

It follows that the Welsh would find places quickly as choir directors and members of choirs in many of the larger non-Welsh congregations. Many were soon to be found, too, teaching the fundamentals and rudiments of this art and rendering entertainment of a modest yet competent scale for their respective American audiences. Wyoming Valley, in particular, can be proud that it was the home for many years of one of the outstanding Welsh musical composers. I refer to the late William Aubrey Williams (1844-1895), otherwise known by his bardic name, "Gwilym Gwent", the composer of songs, anthems, and hymns. Known as the "Mozart of the Coal Mines", he frequently chalked his musical notations upon the sides of the coal cars while at work so that he would not forget them; he later copied them down on paper. "Gwilym" is buried in Hollenback Cemetery where the Wyoming Valley Welsh erected a monument in his memory unique in my opinion. On all sides of the stoen are carved musical notations illustrative of his poetic musical genuis!

"Music was dear to the Welsh heart! Supporting it with a might and propagandizing on its behalf, became one of their chief activities". In the opinion of may music-minded Americans, it is to be regretted that Welsh immigration was not even greater and its distribution more wide-spread. Had such been the case, America would have been the richer in its musical appreciation.[20]

Last (and I repeat not least for many) was the great love of the Welsh for politics, a common trait which they shared with their Irish kinsmen. Incidentally, it was usually the Irish who were their political opponents. In this inter-keltic rivalry for political dominance, the Welsh had to make up for lack of numbers by the application of diplomacy and skill. To say that the Welsh became superb politicians, is to make the understatement of the afternoon!

In order to make up for their lack of numbers, they were the first to organize the all-nationality slates of candidates to out-wit their Keltic competition (that is, a Yankee, a German, a Welshman, a Pole, etc.). Presumably they did this operating on the principle: "Better to share and win, than not to win at all"! And whatever unkind critics might think of this maneuver, from the standpoint of realistic politics, it worked! The Welsh usually won; the opposition usually lost.

And I know that it will come as no surprise to you, that the largest of the Welsh-American settlements, the Wyoming Valley community, was able to produce two of the highest distinguished leaders of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: Governor Arthur H. James, the son of Welsh immigrant parents, and the Hnorable Benjamin Rowland Jones, Chief Justice of the Pennsylvainia Supreme Court, the grandson of Welsh immigrants. Among other distinguished political leaders of this same community I add: Morgan B. Williams, Congressman from Luzerne County in the 1890s; Benjamine R. Jones, Senior, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and presiding Justice of Luzerne County for over twenty years; Thomas M. Lewis, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for many years; and District Attorney Blythe Evans, to note just a few.

Religion, music, and politics, these were the great interests of the Welsh immigrants. I suspect that all three still loom large in the affections of their descendants, and rightly so![21]

And how shall we evaluate the Welsh contribution to America? First, by noting that thousands of Welsh immigrants and their descendants played modest roles pioneering and developing large sections of America's agricultural lands. Thousands more played important roles as skilled workmen and supervisors in the key fields of steel production, coal mining, slate production, and in other extractive industries. Many others played various roles as workers in other economic activities, in politics and statecraft, in the professions, in the arts and sciences, in the field of entertainmnet, and in a variety of miscellaneous ways. These formed a part of that solid core of American citizenry upon which our great country rests today.

Many others of Welsh stock, however, rose from the ranks to acquire respected and even renowned fame invirutally every field of American life. The monumental scholarly work, *the Dictionary of American Biography*, restricted to biographical data concerning America's deceased outstanding leaders, lists 320 leading figures of Welsh extraction. Of the 320, 49 were Welsh immigrants, 29 children of Welsh immigrants, 29 grandchildren of Welsh immigrants, and 213 of Welsh stock.

Included in these figures are: 49 outstanding colonial leaders; 5 signers of the Declaration of Independence; 4 Presidents of the United States; 30 governors; 22 United States Senators; 27 other high government officials; plus 19 jurists, 39 ministers of the gospel, 37 military leaders, 22 scholars, 20 inventors, 17 scientists, 21 business and industrial leaders, 16 physicians, 11 authors, 10 artists, 5 actors, 2 musical composers, and 22 miscellaneous. No mean record for an ethnic group the size of the Welsh!

I remind you again, that this list includes only distinguished Americans who died prior to 1935. It does not include the many distinguished Welsh-Americans of the contemporary period. My book lists some 254 additional Welsh-Americans, who I feel confident will be listed in the supplement to this distinguished scholarly work when they appear in the future. All in all this constitutes some 574 Welsh-Americans of national prominance, and this list is bound to grow in the years to come.

But let us have a look at some of the names of this American Roll of Honor:

Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence and President of the United States. This name alone would be enough to make most ethnic groups feel extremely proud.

James Monroe, President of the United States, son of Eliza Jones of a distinguished Virginia Welsh family.

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, a direct descendant through his mother of Evan ap Evan, one of the founders of our own Pennsylvania Gwenedd Welsh settlement.

Chief Justices of the United States, *John Marshall* and *Charles Evans Hughes*.

The diplomats, *Gouverneur Morris* and *Joseph E. Davies*.

United States Senators, *James J. Davis* and *Hubert H. Humphrey*.

Generals *Daniel Morgan*, *George Henry Thomas*, and General of the Armies, *George C. Marshall*.

Industrial entrepreneurs, *John Pierpont Morgan*, *Benjamin Fairless*, and Gwilym Alexander Price.

Labor leaders, *John L. Lewis* and *William Green*.

Authors, *William Dean Howells*, *Jack London*, *Sinclair Lewis*, and *Ben Ames Williams*.

Singers, *Thomas L. Thomas*, *Jess Thomas*, our own *Allen Jones*, and his own son, *Jack Jones*.

Actors, *Ray Milland*, *Glen Ford*, *Myrna Loy*, and *Bob Hope*.

Plus:

Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy.

Merewether Lewis, the explorer.

Robert Morris, financier of the American Revolution.

Oliver Evans, the inventor.

Elihu Yale, benefactor of Yale University.

George Jones, co-founder of America's greatest newspaper, the New York Times.

Frank Lloyd Wright, the architect.

Arthur Bowen Davies, the painter.

David Wark Griffith, pioneer motion-picture producer

Lowell Thomas, the explorer and news commentator.

and Norman Thomas, the distinguished Socialist leader.

These are merely the names of some of the distinguished Welsh-Americans with whom most Americans are familiar. But in a sense, they represent a cross-section of the Welsh contribution to American leadership.[22]

I am reminded of the comment of the Welsh Baptist preacher: "Numbers or Spirit?" I submit, that in this connection it was definitely a case of "Spirit producing the Numbers!" I like to feel it was the Welsh spirit and Welsh inherited traits that produced so many people of national eminence. And, I hope, it will be the Welsh spirit and inherited traits that will continue to produce a great many more.

However, there are probably many among you who may not be too sure as to just what this Welsh spirit means. For these, may I say this: I wanted to honor it in connection with my book. I searched for a phrase or slogan that might define it briefly and cogently. I found it in the motto of the Welsh Gorsedd of the Bards. You will find this motto on the cover of my book: "Y Gwir yn Erbyn y Byd!" (translated: "The Truth Against the World!")

But possibly, the greatest of the Welsh-Americans expressed it even better, when he recorded his thoughts on human freedom. You will find this famous statement engraved upon the ceiling of his monument down in Washington. I quote it now: "I have sworn, upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man!" I believe that there was much of the Welsh spirit that did come through, when Thomas Jefferson wrote these immortal words back in 1800!

Footnotes

1. Unless otherwise indicated by way of a footnote, the great bulk of this paper is based upon my book: Hartmann, Edward George. *Americans from Wales*, (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1967) *passium*.

2. *Ibid*., chapter III, *passim*; for list of colonial churches founded by the Welsh, see p. 169.

3. *Ibid*., chapter IV, *passium*.

4. For distribution of the Welsh by state and county, see *Ibid*., pp. 94-96.

5. Berthoff, Rowland Tappan, *British Immigrants in Industrial America*, 1790-1950, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953) reprinted (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968).

6. *Ibid*., p. 47.

7. *Ibid*., p. 51.

8. From Eli Bowen, edit., *The Coal Regions of Pennsylvania*, Pottsville, 1848, p. 48 (as quoted by Berthoff, *British Immigrants*..., p. 48.)

9. *Berthoff*, *op*.*cit*., p. 49.

10. *Ibid*., p. 51.

11. *Ibid*., p. 51.

12. Ibid., p. 55.

13. *Ibid*., p. 56.

14. *Ibid*., p. 105.

15. *Ibid*., p. 92.

16. *Ibid*., p. 105.

17. *Wilkes-Barre Sunday Independent*, September 7, 1969, section II, p. 8; also, *Harpers' Weekly*, September 25, 1869.

18. *Berthoff*, *op*.*cit*., p. 210.

19. *Hartmann*, *op*.*cit*., for list of the churches founded by the Welsh in post-colonial America, see pp. 170-191; for churches of Lackawanna and Luzerne Counties, see pp. 182-185.

20. *Ibid*., chapter IX, *passim*.

21. *Ibid*., chapter IX, *passim*.

22. For lists of distinguished Welsh-Americans, see *Ibid*., pp. 196-224.

ORPHANS OF THE SHAN VAN VOCHT: A SEARCH FOR IRISH-AMERICAN IDENTITY

by

Mary Jane Donnelly

Long, long ago beyond the misty space
of twice a thousand years,
In Erin old there dwelt a mighty race,
Taller than Roman spears;
Like oaks and towers they had a giant grace,
Were fleet as deers,
With wind and wave they made their
hiding place,
These Western shepherd-seers.

...

Ossian! Two thousand years of mist and change
Surround they name _____
Thy Fenian heroes now no longer range
The hills of fame.
The very names of Finn and Gaul sound strange _____
Yet thine the same _____
By miscall'd lake and desecrated grange _____
Remains and shall remain![1]

THE CELT
Thomas D'Arcy McGee

Poetry and music, the heritage of the Celt, the heritage of the Irish American, but what do we know of that heritage?

Andrew Greeley, Director of the Center for the Study of American Pluralism at the National Opinion Research Center believes that many ethnic groups, including the Irish have been strangled by assimilation to such a point that they may no longer have an ethnic identity. But he continues:

> "Identification, heritage and culture apparently interrelate in different ways at different times in the natural history of an ethnic group. Thus, the American Irish whose ethnic identification may be somewhat weak and whose consciousness of ethnic heritage is weak, indeed, nonetheless display cultural traits that make them considerably different from other Americans whether the others be Protestant or their fellow Catholics."[2]

Even if the American Irish are not completely acculturated they are in danger of believing that their heritage consists of Saint Patrick's Day parades, mawkish Tin Pan Alley ballads and perhaps a penchant for a less regorous ethic.

There is an Irish word "ducas"; freely translated it means 'what is bred in the bone will out'. There is much marrow in the bone, the marrow of Irish History, and Irish-American History, the marrow of a birthright that we should know about and learn to cultivate.

EARLY IMMIGRATION

Though it was in the middle of the 19th century that the Diaspora of the Irish people began, Irishmen were journeying to America long before that time.

Pre-Christian Irish legends repeatedly refer to "Enchanted Islands to the West". lying far out in the Ocean___Tir Na Nog, "the land of the ever young "and Hy Brasil, the Island of great desire". According to Irish tradition, St. Brendan the Navigator sailed westward in search of new mission fields, a pilgrim venturing forth seeking the "haute" martyrdome of separation from homeland and kinsfolk. We leave to others the debate as to whether Brendan or any of his followers reached North America. The great naval historian, Samuel Eliot Morison, tells us, "the Irish Monks certainly reached Iceland, probably Greenland and that it is at least possible that some of them washed upon the shores of North America."[3] Morison thinks it plausible that the legendary account of Brendan's trip contains the germ of a story of a voyage that actually happened. However, even interpreting this story at face value does not, according to Morison, give us any reason to think that he got beyond the Azores. Many ancient chroniclers continued to refer to Hy Brasil lying west of Ireland, but no further evidence of contact between medieval Ireland and America is found.

Moving forward in time to another voyager, there have been stories that an Irishman, a native of Galway, was among Columbus' sailors. One source gives his name as William Eris or Ayers.[4] Stories persist in Galway that Columbus did indeed visit the city on his way to the New World and attended the church of St. Nicholas.

Whether these were the first Irish Immigrants or not, I will leave to other researchers. However, the latter part of the 16th century did find Irishmen coming to America. That quaint English form of land redistribution known as plantation was beginning under the Tudors. Later in 1652 Oliver Cromwell, victorious in his campaigns in Ireland, began large-scale confication of Irish land. Thousands of men and women were transported as laborers to the West Indies. Some of these subsequently made their way to British colonies on the North American mainland.[5]

So the Irish came as indentured servants, but toward the close of the century with the increasing number of Irish Immigrants, Colonies such as, Maryland, suspended for a time their further importation as servants; and in 1690 the Council of Virginia decreed that "no more than twenty Irishmen were to be sold on any one river".[6] We must point our that there were settlers like Charles Carroll who in 1688 was named Attorney General of Maryland. Carroll was the grandfather of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and was the founder of one of the most distinguished and prosperous Irish American families of the Colonial era.[7]

In the beginning of the eighteenth century conditions in Ireland again brought on emigration. Protestants in Ulster were suffering from harsh economic restrictions. These relatively "New Irishmen" - Scotch Presbyterians - who had benefited from the Ulster plantations in the early part of the seventeenth century began to leave Ireland for America. The first mass exodus came in 1717-1718 and in the late 1720's a second, heavier wave of emigration developed.[8]

The story of the so-called "Scotch Irish" in America is well documented. I would recommend Henry Hones Ford's THE SCOTCH IRISH IN AMERICA (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1915) reprinted by Arno Press in 1969.

I might note that 'Irishman' was used to describe Ulster Protestants as well as Catholic Irish and that the term Scotch Irish was not known in Northern Ireland. The sharp distinction developed in the United States in the latter half of the nineteenth century when the Scotch Irish sought to differentiate between the descendants of earlier immigrants and the more recent arrivals.[9]

References to the distinction between Protestant and Catholic Irishmen in the Colonial period were rare. The charitable Irish Society of Boston organized in 1737 consisted originally of Protestants and in its earlier days had both Protestant and Catholic presidents. This organization, the oldest Irish Society in the United States had as its purpose "to aid unfortunate fellow countrymen, to cultivate a spirit of unity and harmony among all Irishmen in Massachusetts Colony and their descendants and to advance their interest socially and morally".[10]

As negro slavery increased in the colonies the lot of the indentured servant deteriorated. Indentured servants whose time of service was limited, were worked to the utmost by their masters. Many ran away but were usually returned. The following poem was an advertisement for a runaway servant from the Maryland Gazette of March 16, 1769:

> Last Wednesday noon, at break of day
> From Philadelphia ran away
> An Irishman named John McKeoghn,
> To fraud and imposition prone;
> About five feet, five inches high
> Can curse and swear as well as lie;
> How old he is I can't engage,
> But forty-five is near his age;
> He came as all reports agree
> From Belfast town in sixty three
> On board the Culloden, a ship
> Commanded by McLean that trip;
> Speaks like a Scotchman, very broad
> Is round shouldered and meager-jawed;
> Has thick, short hair of sandy hue,
> Breeches and hose of maz-reen blue
> Of lightish cloth an outside vest,
> In which he commonly is dressed;
> Inside of which two more I've seen
> One flannel, th' other coarse nankeen.
> He stole, and from my house conveyed
> A man's blue coat of bear-skin stuff,
> (Nor had the villan yet enough);
> Some chintz (the ground was pompadour)
> I lately purchased in a store,
> Besides a pair of blue ribbed hose,
> Which he has on as I suppose,
> He oft in conversation chatters
> Of scripture and religious matters,
> And fain would to the world impart
> That virtue lodges in his heart;
> But take the rougue from stem to stern.
> The hippocrite you'll soon discern -
> And find (though his deportment's civil)
> A saint without, within a devil
> Whoe'er secures said John McKeoghn;
> (Provided I should get my own)
> Shall have from me in cash paid down,
> Five dollar bills and half a crown...[11]

The Colonial Irish played a visible part in American affairs. In 1771 The Pennsylvania Packet commenced publication. At first a weekly, in 1784 it became the first daily newspaper published in the United States. Its owner John Dunlap came to America from County Tyrone in 1757 and in 1776, as Printer to the Continental Congress printed the first copies of the Declaration of Independence.[12] Irish Catholics though few in number were among the leaders on the military side of the Revolutionary War. The most significant was John Barry who left County Wexford at the age of fourteen and at the time of the outbreak of the war was a merchant Captain in Philadelphia. He was the first naval Commander commissioned by Congress. He has been called "the father of the American Navy."[13] Other military men descendants of the "Wild Geese", those Irishmen who fled their homeland and scattered to the wind to fight in and lead armies throughout Europe and South America, fought in the war and when the Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia, July 4, 1776, Irish-born signers were Matthew Thornton of New Hampshire, George Taylor of Pennsylvania and James Smith of Pennsylvania. Signers of Irish origin included Edward Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Thomas McKean, George Read, and Charles Carroll.[14]

In 1780 immigration from Ulster revived and in 1788 the Irish government banned the emigration of skilled artisans. In a further attempt to stop this loss of needed workers Passenger Act of 1803 which reduced the number of emigrants a ship could carry.[15] Still, the Irish came.

In 1798 another Irish revolt failed and in its aftermath came the first of the long line of Irish revolutionaries, both Catholic, and Protestant who were to play their part in the history of two countries.

By 1800 large numbers of Irish lived in New York and Philadelphia, though there were some like Thomas Moore who viewed America through an unsympathetic eye:

> "Alone by the Schuylkill the wanderer roved,
> and sweet were the flowery banks to his eye
> Take Christians, Mohawks, democrats and all
> From the savage, whether slav'd or free,
> To man the civilized, less tame than he,
> Tis one dull chaos, one infertile strife
> Betwixt half-polished and the half-barbarous life,
> Where every gill the ancient world could brew
> Is mixed with every grossness of the new."[16]

Another visitor was Theobald Wolfe Tone who came to Philadelphia in 1796. He planned to negotiate with French Revolutionies for aid but left because he feared English agents. Thus some men viewed America and left it, but other men stayed. One United Irish refugee was Thomas O'Connor who in 1810 founded the SHAMROCK or HIBERNIAN CHRONICLE, the first Irish-American newspaper.

The War of 1812 effectively halted immigration, a few Irishmen may have come over but most waited until peace was declared. In 1814 the Irish Emigrant Society was founded in New York City by Dr. Robert Hogan, President of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Its purpose was to aid new arrivals from Ireland and protect them from exploitation.[17] This was something which was greatly needed.

With the westward movement of the American nation and the beginnings of industrialization, the Irish immigrant found renewed opportunity to work for a new life. On July 4, 1817 work commenced on the Erie Canal. At the time of its completion in 1825, it was the largest Canal in the world. It stretched from the Hudson River, north of Troy, westward to Buffalo, 363 miles. These miles were won through swamplands which claimed many lives from malaria, many Irish lives. The Irish immigrant played a vital part in the building of the Erie Canal. In fact, the Irishman until the latter half of the nineteenth century provided most of the cheap, unskilled labor for building America's roads, canals, and railroads. Except for the early Southern Jobs they were responsible for digging all the American canals constructed before the Civil War.[18]

Between 1820 and 1830 more than 50,000 Irish immigrants entered the United States. Many "native Americans" were beginning to see a threat in this tide of immigration. However, Mathew Carey, who had come to the United States from Ireland in 1784 and who had embarked on a long career as journalist, author, and economic theorist, felt differently. In July 1828 he published a tract concerning the need of the poorer Irish to emigrate. This is some of what he has to say:

> "The distressed situation of the Irish Nation particularly the working classes is well known and has excited the sympathy of the humane and benevolent in this country.
>
> Potatoes constitute three-fourths of the sustenance of nine-tenths of the laboring classes in Ireland. A failure of the crop produces famine - and this sometimes carries off thousands and tens of thousands.
>
> On the otherhand, the public works of the United States suffer great disadvantage from a deficiency of laborers, of whom 30,000 would be able to produce immediate employment in this country, and wages to which they could never in the wildest range of their imagination have dared to aspire to in their own country."[19]

He further proposed that agents be dispatched to Ireland to procure suitable candidates for immigration. He was sure that financial renumeration would come to both agent and emigrant.

Whether they were spurred on by men like Carey or the search for 'El Dorado' or whether they were fleeing from intolerable conditions in Ireland, the Irish continued to stream to America. Indeed, most needed no enticement to emigrate because conditions in Ireland provided reason enough. In 1829 the British Parliament passed a bill, nominally concerned with Irish voting qualifications. Popularly known as the "disfranchisement act" it abolished the forty-shilling freeholder as an elector by raising the qualification to ten pounds. This was the official answer to the revolt of the Irish voter who in the previous year helped Daniel O'Connell's drive for Catholic Emancipation succeed. The outcome of the Act of 1829 was a consolidation or "clearing" of parcels of land into larger holdings. No provisions had to be made for the dispossessed. A few became tenants, some settled wasteland and still others joined the ranks of the "Taveling People". These evictions did not constitute an important cause of emigration, since the dispossed had no money for such a move. Some landlords however, provided passage for their tenants.[20] Prior to the Great Famine this assistance was local and not extensive.

Coupled with the "clearing" of the estates engendered by the Act of 1829, were the potato famines which struck in 1800, 1816, 1817, and 1822. Usually the failure of the potato crop was partial and was for one season only. These were warning signals ignored with the next good harvest.

In response to an earlier crisis, a scheme of controlled and assisted emigration had been organized in 1823 by the colonial office. Five hundred settlers were conveyed to Canada at public expense. This was something of a success. So a second and larger contingent of 2,000 went out in 1825. Many proved unfit for frontier life and a considerable portion having received passage across the Atlantic slipped over into the United States.[21]

The crop failure of 1822 and resultant famine in the south and northwest of Ireland was the eventful engine which set in motion the nineteenth century migration of the Catholic Irish. The previously mentioned government-assisted migration opened the eyes of the peasants of the South of Ireland to the advantages of immigration and it was estimated that for every thousand assisted by the government, two thousand would follow voluntarily.[22]

In the period 1820 to 1835, the Catholic Irish emigration to British North America annually exceeded that to the United States for the compelling reason that passage was much cheaper. They sailed on the timber boats which plied their way between Canada and Ireland at cheaper fare because they represented cargo gain to the shippers. These companies were permitted to carry more passengers per registration and superficial deck space than the American Congress tolerated.[23] Canada was not the end of the line, however, it was simply the backdoor to the United States for many emigrants.

By 1830 there was 150,000 Irish Catholics in New York alone and native hostility toward new immigrant groups became primarily anti-Catholic not just anti-foreign. Small nativist parties emerged in New York and elsewhere. Riots, bloodshed and the burning of churches were common in New York and Philadelphia.[24]

On August 11, 1834 the Ursuline Covent in Charlestown, Massachusetts was burned. From the Boston Commercial Gazette, August 13, 1843:

> "Fears were entertained yesterday that there would be fresh disturbances last evening. It was reported that the Irish laborers on the Worcester, Lowell and Providence Railroad were on their way to the city in great numbers for the purpose of aiding their Irish brethren in avenging the insult that was offered to them by the destruction of the Catholic seminary at Charlestown. It is true we believe that several hundred of these labourers arrived in this city last evening; but we have heard of no acts of violence on their part or from any other quarter."[25]

The anti-Catholic and anti-foreign feeling in the United States was stimulated by the increased Irish immigration and competition in the job market and it was just beginning. Respectable ministers and civic leaders endorsed the publication of the AWFUL DISCLOSURES OF MARIA MONK. This book, the alleged memoirs of a nun was a run-away best seller and produced a sequel, FURTHER DISCLOSURES in 1836.

These fictious accounts painted a picture of the "colorful depravities" of convent life. The so-called author had, in fact, never been in a convent, instead she had been in a Catholic asylum for delinquent girls. She gave birth to two fatherless children and after being cheated by her respectable defenders descended into obscurity. Years later she was arrested for being a pickpocket and died in prison.

But the book outlived its author and was used again in 1928 in the campaign against Al Smith and was the classic example of this genre of anti-Catholic literature.

In 1844 anti-Catholic riots erupted in Philadelphia, growing out of several tension producing influences. The American Protestant Association was formed in Philadelphia in 1842 with 100 charter ministers at its head. It carried out a campaign against Catholicism and served as one of the inspiration for the Native American (Nativist) or Know-Nothing party. In 1842 Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick started a further controversy by his efforts to prevent Public schools from requiring Catholic children to read the King James version of the Bible. On May 6, 1844, a Protestant meeting in Kensington provoked a riot and bloodshed that lasted for three days and in which two

Catholic churches were destroyed and sixteen people were killed. There is convincing evidence that these riots were essentially a clash between Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics.[26]

Orestes Bownson was the first native Protestant intellectual to be converted to Catholicism. This occurred in 1844 and of course it affected his attitude toward the Nativist movement of the time. In Brownson's Quarterly Review of January 1845 he spoke against Native Americanism:

> "Here all partition-walls which make enemies of different races and nations were to be broken down; all senseless and mischevious distinctions of rank and caste were to be discarded: and every man no matter where born, in what language trained or faith baptized, was to be regarded as man - as nothing more, as nothing less. Here we were to found not a republic of Englishmen, of Frenchmen, of Dutchmen, of Irishmen, but of men; and to make the Word American mean not a man born on this soil or on that but a free and accepted member of the grand republic of men. Such is what we have regarded as the principle and the destiny of this new world and with this we need say Native Americanism is directly at war. Native Americanism is a retrograde step."[27]

Despite these thoughtful sentiments, nativism continued as a powerful movement until the Civil War, fueled by economic conditions and increasing Irish immigration figures:

1843	23,597
1844	37,569
1845	50,207
1846	68,023[28]

How could they afford to come? As we have mentioned previously, the British government financed two small expeditions to Canada, and landlord assisted emigration prior to the famine was spotty. It was simply a case of the poor aiding the poor both in Ireland and in the United States.

Mathew Carey in a series of public letters to Bishop John Hughes of New York in 1838 praised the Catholic Irish for "the extraordinary and almost incredible sacrifices made in the shape of remittances". In 1829 a series of remittance business was organized, usually in connection with a steam ship company, to facilitate sending money overseas. Carey surveyed these houses to ascertain remittance figures. He received replies from only five, yet these five revealed that they had transmitted to Ireland in 1835 and 1836 the sum of $314,975 in small drafts. The New York house of Abraham Bell and Company added that from 1830 to 1837 it had remitted no less than $354,933. Roche Brothers and Company, a New York Irish-American firm which delt almost exlusively with the Catholic Irish informed Mr. Carey that in 1836 and 1837 it has remitted a total sum, in small drafts, of $281, 485 to Ireland. On the Basis of these collective figures, $800,000 was remitted by the Catholic Irish in America for the period covered. These sums were sent by laboring men earning from $.75 to $1.25 a day, when they could get work, and female domestic servants earning $1.25 a week. Remittances increased annually from 1837 on, until in 1846 the first full famine year in Ireland, Jacob Harvey of New York placed the figure at $1,001,650. Beginning in 1848, the British Colonial Land and Emigration Commission annually published figures of Irish remittances "confessedly imperfect". The sums were immense:

$2,300,000 in 1848
$2,700,000 in 1849
$4,785,000 in 1850
$4,995,000 in 1851
$7,020,000 in 1852
$7,195,000 in 1853
$8,650,000 in 1854

After 1854 with better conditions in Ireland, remittances leveled off to $4,000,000 to $5,000,000 in 1855 and 1856 and then to $2,000,000 to $3,000,000 in 1857, 1858, 1859, and 1861 and they declined to $1,870,305 in the first year of the Civil War. From 1848 to 1861 inclusive, Irish emigrants remitted the breath-taking known sum of $59,236,555 to their native land. John F. Maguire, an Irish journalist, after talking to American bankers that the famine emigrants had in twenty years sent $120,000,000 to pay emigrant passages and support parents and relatives in Ireland.[29]

This from the supposedly improvident and Indolent Catholic Irish. Small wonder that the phrase "a letter from America" is used to denote good news or good fortune in Ireland even today.

I have digressed a bit into the story of Irish remittances, but I felt that it was important to point out this admirable record of the Irish emigrant as we come to what is probably the most cataclysmic event in Irish history.

"The famine is the great dividing-line in modern Irish history...there was a change in the character of the people. After the famine one senses a new quality, something grimmer and tougher among the survivors and their children. The political consequences of this were not to be felt in full for another generation until the children who experienced the famine and immediate post-famine years had reached maturity in Ireland and in America. The great new factor in Irish politics was to be the growth of this new Irish community in America. This new factor was to bring about a great weakening of England's control over Ireland. From now on, as an English Home Secretary was to complain in the stormy 1880's, an important section of the perennially rebellious Irish nation was "out of reach".[30]

THE GREAT FAMINE

"The potato of the mid-nineteenth century, not yet even partially immunised against disease by scientific breeding, was singularly liable to failure. Twenty four failures of the potato crop were listed by the Census of Ireland Commissioners of 1851. In 1728 there had been such a scarcity that on the 26th of February there was a great rising of the populace of Cork; in 1739 the crop was utterly destroyed; and in 1740 entire failure was reported; in 1770 the crop largely failed owing to curl; 1800 brought another general failure; in 1807 half the crop was lost through frost. In 1821 and 1822 the potato failed completely in Munster and Connaught; distress horrible beyond description was reported in the near Skibbereen...1830 and 1831 were years of failure in Mayo, Donegal and Galway; in 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1836 a large number of districts suffered serious loss from dry rot and the curl; in 1835 the potato failed in Ulster, and 1836 and 1837 brought extensive failures throughout Ireland. In 1839 failure was again universal throughout Ireland from Bantry Bay to Lough Scully; famine conditions followed. In 1841 the potato crop failed in manu districts and in 1844 the early crop was widely lost. In 1845 the possibility of yet another failure caused no particular alarm."[31]

Until July of 1845 things looked remarkably well, then disquieting reports of blight began to appear on the Isle of Wight and in England. A failure would be a disaster for Ireland, and it was, for famine walked the land.

The roots of the famine stretch deep into Irish history. To understand how the failure of a crop, albeit the staple crop of the land, could bring a country to such disaster we must look into Irish History.

The very beginnings of Irish history are shrouded in mythology. It is so difficult to separate the legned from the fact that a pseudo-history has evolved. So it is in the Leabhor Gabhala Eireann - The Book of Invasions that we trace the early inhabitants of Erie, the Tuatha De Danann, and the Fir Bholg. Perhaps these were truly the stone-age custodians of the mysterious stone fortresses and buriel mounds which dot the land.

The three sons of Mileadh of Spain conquered the land about the time of Alexander the Great and from these sons Heremon, Heber and Ir are descended all the royal clans of later Ireland. In 350 BC the Celts came upon the scene probably from Spain and became the masters of Ireland imposing upon it their empire, language and law.

Ireland was never conquered by the Romans so her Celtic culture remained immune from attack until long after Christianity came to the land. The learned traditions were held intact, and in effect Christianity was welded to these traditions. St. Columba in fact urged that the ancient druidic order of bards the Filid be admitted into the framework of Christianity. This not only strengthened the chruch but insured the preservation of the oral traditions, the legends and the poems for another thousand years.

Some looked upon the union somewhat sadly, however, as we see from this poetical meeting of St. Patrick and Ossian one of the heroes of the Fianna:

Patrick, you chatter too loud
And lift your crozier too high;
Your stick would be kindling soon
If my son Osgar stood by.

If my son Osgar and God
Wrestled it out on the hill
And I saw Osgar go down
I would say your God fought well

But how could the Lord your praise
Or his mild priests singing a tune
Be better than Fionn the Swordsman,
Generous, faultless Fionn?

Patrick, ask of your God
Does he remember their might
Or has he seen east or west
Better men in a flight?

Or known in his own land,
Above the stars and the moon,
For wisdom, courage, and strength
A man the like of Fionn?[32]

THE WARRIOR
Anonymous (14th Century)
Trans. by Frank O'Connor

Patrick and Patrick's God prevailed and the Fionna slipped back into the mist of time. We can find them, however, in the great Irish sagas along with Cu Chulain, Madhbk, Deidre and the Sons of Uisnech - stories of myths of prehistory?

There is no question as to the role of Christianity and the influence of Irish monasticism. The monastic establishment were the cities of Ireland and the great universities of Europe; ecclesiastical foundations such as Glendalough, Monasterboise and Clonmacrois:

"In a quiet water's land, a land of roses,
Stands St. Kieran's City fair;
And the warriors of Erin in their famous
generations
Slumber there"[33]

THE DEAD AT CLONMACROISE
(from the Irish) Thomas William Rolleston

The fervor of the Irish Monk was not to be bounded by the geographic limitations of his small island. From 500-800 AD the monks traveled throughout western Europe brining a tradition of holiness and learning that is still honored. It is said that these monks kept alight the fire of learning through the Dark Ages.

Their establishments in Ireland were tempting targets for invaders and so the stage was neatly set for those sea-men who became feared raiders in the eight century - the Vikings.

"Fierce is the wind tonight
It ploughs up the white hair of the sea
I have no fear that the Viking hosts
Will come over the water to me."[34]

THE VIKING TERROR
(7th or 8th Century,
trans. F.N. Robinson)

If they did not come that night, they came many times afterward. Attracted by the wealth of the monasteries, they plundered and ravaged them steadily. They began to establish settlements on the coastlines. These grew into the first Irish cities. The power of the Scandinavians rose and they attempted to subdue all of Ireland.

In 1002 Brian Boru became the first High King of Ireland and in 1014 at the Battle of Clontarf he deafeated the Norsemen, thus effectively ending Viking power in Ireland. While victorious in battle, he lost his life. With Brian's death the heroic era of Gaelic independence ended.

There was a period or relative calm; although the Vikings were still powerful, Ireland began to work its way upon them. They intermarried, became Christian and added their strong blood to the race.

A group of conquering warrior's of Normandy had taken the crown of England by force. In 1166, Dermot MacMurrough in need of allies to restore him to his Irish lands approached Henry II and his barons with an appeal for aid. Some years before this Pople Adrian IV, the only English Pope, wishing to "cure the ills of the Irish church" had issued a bull authorising the King Henry to take possession of Ireland to aid their King, and their own purses, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, known by the name of Strongbow and his knights undertook an invasion of Ireland. King Henry himself landed at Waterford in 1171 to establish English soverignity over Ireland and to accept the submission of the native chiefs.

"This is the country of the Norman tower
The graceless keep, the bleak and slitted eye
Where fear drive comfort out; straw on the floor
Was price of conquering security

They came and won, and there for centuries
Stood to their arms; the face grew bleak and lengthened
In the night vigil, while their foes at ease
Sang of the strangers and the towers they strengthened

Ragweed and thistle hold the Norman field
And cows the hall where Gaelic never rang
Melodiously to harp or spinning wheel
Their songs are spent now with the voice that sang;

And lost their conquest. This soft land quietly
Engulfed them like the Saxon and the Dane -
But kept the jutted brow, the slitted eye;

Only the faces and the names remain".[35]

A WARNING TO CONQUERORS
Donagh MacDonagh

In time, the Normans like the Norsemen before them became "Hibernis ipsis Hibernioris" (more Irish than the Irish). Attempts were made by British rulers to keep the English and the Irish people apart. One such attempt resulted in that law known as the "Statute of Kilkenny".

> "According to this law, intermarriage, fosterage, gossipred, traffic and close relations of any kind with the Irish were forbidden as high treason: punishment, death.
>
> If any man took a name after the Irish fashion, used the Irish language or dress, rode without a saddle or adopted any other Irish custom, all his lands and houses were forfeited... The Irish living among the English were forbidden to use the Irish language under the same penalty.
>
> No Englishmen was to make war on the Irish without the special permission of the government, who would carry on all such wars, so that, as the Act expresses it: the Irish enemies shall not be admitted to peace until they be finally destroyed or shall make restitution fully of the costs and charges of the war."[36]

The law was found to be impracticable, the Irish and English carried on as before.

Up to the 16th century, Ireland had, to an extent, absorbed her invaders; her native rulers were disorganized but even though her lands had been usurped her people were not truly oppressed. Then the Tudors took Ireland in hand. The English were not that far removed from the racial strains of the Irish, but Henry VIII's break with Rome and his subsequent usurption of Church lands made the struggle a religious one, and it has remained to this day that English Protestant and Irish Catholic are natural opponents. Extensive plantation of Ireland began under the Tudors and Catholic Mary was even worse than her father, Henry.

Elizabeth I sought her way by force of arms. She moved to crush the last of the Gaelic Chiefs, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone and Red Hugh O'Donnell, Earl of Tirconnell.

This war lasted nine years and when at last O'Neill and O'Donnell were routed on Christmas Eve 1601 and fled to Europe in what has been called "The flight of the Earls", Gaelic Ireland was dead and Catholic Ireland took its place.

> "This night sees Eire desolate!
> Her Chiefs are cast out of their state
> Her men, her maids weep to see
> Her desolate that should peopled be
> Her Chiefs are gone. There's none to bear
> Her cross or lift her long despair;
> The grieving lords take ship. With these
> Our very souls pass overseas"[37]
>
> DESOLATION
> Trans. from Irish by Robin Flower

The Seventeenth Century proved blacker still for Ireland. James I left with the Irish problem, solved it by creating the enduring Irish problem, the Ulster settlement. The confiscated lands of the Ulster Chiefs and rebels were planted with English and Scottish settlers.

In 1641 there was a rebellion in Ulster which served as the excuse for the Cromwellian campaigns in Ireland. Cromwell landed in 1649 and proceeded to Drogheda where he massacered the garrison, clergy, and civilians. He then turned south and repeated the slaughter at Wexford garrison. The victory of the English Parliamentary forces was followed by the Cromwellian confiscation.

Oliver Cromwell can easily be described as the first parcticioner of genocide in modern history. In the decade of Cromwell's invasion more than half the population of Ireland died - about three quarters of a million people, somewhat less, be it noted, than the number that died in the Great Famine two centuries later.[38]

Under the Cromwellian settlement all of Ireland was forfeit. The lands of Catholics in Ulster, Leinster and Munster were planted with Protestants. Catholics were transplanted to the province of Connacht, a wild and unfertile land (thus the phrase 'To hell or Connacht'). During this time the Catholic Clergy were repressed and hunted. A bounty of five pounds was placed upon them, the same as that upon the head of a wolf.

The Irish affection for the Stuart Kings had always caused them grief, and James II was no exception to this. In an attempt to regain his throne James made Ireland his battlefield and brought to it the disasterous Williamite War, 1689-1691. Thus the Orangeman's darling King Billy (William of Orange) defeated James' forces at the Boyne and at Aughrim and Ireland's fate was sealed. Patrick Sarsfield the venerated Irish Commander at Limerick surrendered and with his men set sail for the continent. Again, the ablest men of the land, both Catholic and Protestant had to flee - and these were "the Wild Geese".

There was now visited upon the Irish one of the most vicious documents in the history of man - The Penal Code. Edmund Burke characterized it: "A machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the repression, inproverishment and degradation of a people and the debasement in them of human nature as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man".[39] The Code was begun in the reign of William; made ferocious under Anne and continued under the first two Georges.

The Treaty of Limerick had promised to restore a degree of religious freedom to the Irish Catholic. This treaty was violated by the English government and they enacted the

Penal Laws which provided among other things that:

> The Irish Catholic was forbidden the exercise of his religion
>
> He was forbidden to enter a profession
>
> He was forbidden to vote
>
> He was forbidden to hold public office
>
> He was forbidden to engage in trade or commerce
>
> He was forbidden to own a horse of greater value than five pounds
>
> He was forbidden to purchase land
>
> He was forbidden to lease land for more than 30 years
>
> He was forbidden to buy land from a Protestant
>
> He was forbidden to inherit land from a Protestant
>
> He was forbidden to rent any land that was worth more than thirty shillings a year
>
> He was forbidden to reap from his land any profit exceeding a third of the rent.

A Catholic owner of land was prohibited from bequeathing it was he pleased. It must be divided among his sons in equal shares, but if the eldest son adopted the Protestant religion he became sole owner and could in effect disinherit the father.

> He could not himself educate his child or send him abroad.[40]

The priest and the teacher were hunted creatures. There developed throughout the country the so-called "Hedge Schools" - clandestine academies perhaps literally behind hedges where teachers risked all to educate Catholic youths.

In the eighteenth century, Catholic Ireland went underground, that "Hidden Ireland" that Daniel Corkery describes so eloquently. Pressure within the country came from Protestant as well as Catholic, and America began to play her part in the story.

The Catholic's began to win some relief in the latter part of the eighteenth century but local economic conditions brought about the formation of secret agrarian societies. The "whiteboys", a secret peasant society formed to resist the landlord's oppressions, carried on a guerilla war of beating, burning and sabotage. Similar societies sprang up throughout the country. The Protestant counteraction produced the "Peep of Day Boys" who intimadated Irish Catholic for economic reasons. However this private war lost its economic overtones and turned to a religious struggle out of which in 1795 came the Orange order.

A strange thing had begun to take place amid these religious struggles. The

Protestant ascendency was at odds with the English government on the question of Irish Nationalism and it was this group which provided leadership in the rebellion of 1798. Theobald Wolfe Tone was a member of the Ascendency but in spirit he was close to the old Gaels. He worked for a United Ireland, an Ireland who would rule her own destiny, but the uprising of 1798 failed. It did however give England the excuse to pass in 1800 the Act of Union under which Ireland ceased to be a separate Kingdom with her own Parliament and in effect became merely a region of Great Britian.[41] From this time on Irish history is the story of the attempt to repeal this union. Rebellion against England became chronic, and America becomes the refuge of Irish revolutionaries.

In the early part of the 19th century Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator, came upon the Irish scene. In 1823 he founded the Catholic Association and began to direct the fight for Catholic Civil rights. With the aid of the clergy and the Catholic peasant "forty-shilling voter", O'Connell was elected to parliament but, as a Catholic he was ineligible to sit. Such was the agitation that a relief act was pushed through. In 1829 Catholics were granted the right to sit in both Houses of Parliament and to hold all civil and military offices. O'Connell became the leader of the Irish Party in Parliament and continued his fight for repeal.

But O'Connell could do nothing about the disaster which was about to strike. The Penal Law, the landlord system, and the laws which kept England economically secure against Irish progress had produced a land of small holdings and a people utterly dependent upon one crop - the potato.

> "Weary men, what reap ye? -'Golden corn
>   for the stranger'
> What saw ye - "Human corpses that wait for the avenger'
> Fainting forms, hunger - stricken, what see ye in the offing?
> 'Stately ships to bear our food away amid the strangers scoffing'.
> There's a proud array of soldiers - what do they round your door?
>   "They guard our master's granaries from the thin hand of
>   the poor'.
> Pale mothers, wherefore weeping would to
> God that we were dead -
> Our children swoon before us and we cannot give them bread".[42]
>
> THE FAMINE YEAR
> Lady Wilde

In 1841 the population of Ireland was over 8 million and was expected to reach 8½ million by 1851. In fact a census later that year revealed that it had fallen to 6½ million. It was estimated that between 500,000 and 1,000,000 died from starvation and fever.[43] Between 1845 and 1850 two million quarters of wheat were shipped out of Ireland and in the Poor Law Act of 1847 it was stipulated that no peasant with a holding of a quarter acre or more of land was eligible for relief thus forcing people to sell their land.

It is impossible to even imagine what happened during these times. A letter directed to the Duke of Wellington from N.M. Commins, J. P., Cork read in part:

> "I entered some of the hovels...in the first, six famished and ghastly skeltons to all appearance dead, were huddled in a corner on some filthy straw, their sole covering what seemed a ragged horse cloth and their wretched legs hanging about naked above the knees. I approached in horror, and found by a low moaning they were alive, they were in fever - four children, a woman and what had once been a man...in a few minutes I was surrounded by at least 200 of such

> phantoms, such frightful spectres as no words can describe. By far the greater number were delirious either from famine or from fever."[44]

The British government made some effort to deal with the disaster but Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell were fearful that too much government aid might undermine free enterprise and so they encouraged private charities to aid the people. But it was the Americans who received credit for relief. Help came from Irish Americans and from public subscription. This picture or a benevolent America fanned the fire of emigration, a fire that needed very little new fuel.

The British Government was asked to aid emigration by providing money for passage and outfit. These funds were to be apportioned between the public, the landlords and the emigrants themselves. The Government felt however that this would only swell the ranks of emigrants to the breaking point in those countries of entry, such as Canada and the United States and further, it would transfer the burden to the taxpayers of the United Kingdom rather than laying it upon the emigrants themselves.[45]

Prior to the famine landlord assisted emigration has been spotty. However when the Poor Law of 1839 made workhouse paupers, usually evicted tenants, chargeable to estates, this type of assisted emigration increased. Some landlords cleared their estates and these tenants were dumped destitute into the streets of New York. This was a cold business proposition.

"The cost of keeping a pauper in the Roscommon Poor House averages about 2 s. 9 d. per week £ 7-3 per annum; the cost of emigration averages £ 3-12-0 per head to Quebec, being a difference of £ 3-11-0 in favor of emigration in the first year, and all other cost of support saved. The cost of clearing the surplus population of the townlands named by emigration would be £ 5,865-12-0, cost of support in Poor House £ 11,634-10-0 being a difference infavor of emigration of £ 5,768-18-0".[46]

However callous this may seem, thousands were able to emigrate who might otherwise be trapped in that hopeless misery that was Ireland. For the most part immigration was accomplished by the people, themselves, through their own enterprise. One by one or two by two they came, and it is said that every Irish emigrant carried another upon his back. The emigration from the United Kingdom was the largest known to that time.

In 1845, 74,970 emigrated from Ireland, 50,207 went to the United States. In 1846, 105,917 left Ireland, 68,023 coming to the United States, and in 1847, 219,885 from Ireland, 118,120 entering the United States. This immigration continued to mount until 1851 when 254,537 left Ireland with 219,232 landing in the United States.[47] From 1840-1850, 800,000 Irish emigrants entered the United States.[48]

Many of the ships they sailed on were called "coffin ships", a not inappropriate name. They were also to be labeled "Fever Ships" and we shall see why. "The ships were often old and unseaworthy, insufficient in accomodations, without the means of maintaining the most ordinary decency, with bad or scanty provisions, not having even an adequate supply of water for a long voyage.[49]

Every emigrant ship was a potential pesthouse. The typhus that was endemic in Ireland or the diseases carried aboard from the rotting rooming houses of Liverpool became "ship fever".

"On the 8th of May 1847, the 'Urania' from Cork with several hundred immigrants on board, a large portion of them sich and dying of the ship-fever was put into quarantine at Grosse Isle. This was the first of the plague-smitten ships from Ireland which that year sailed up the St. Lawrence. But before the first week of June as many as 84 ships of various tonnage were driven in by an easterly wind and of that enormous number of vessels there was not one free from the taint of malignant typhus."[50]

There were still some sheds remaining from the previous quarantine in 1832 but there were no other accomodations of any kind on the island. Some of the sick and dying were literally dumped on the shore. In time facilities were erected but for a considerable period throughout the summer the mortality rate was as high as 100-200 a day.

"It was not until November that the quarantine of Grosse Isle was closed. Upon that barren ilse as many as 10,000 of the Irish race were consigned to the grave-pit. By some the estimate is made much higher and 12,000 is considered nearer the actural number."[51]

The mortality rates of the 1847 emigration to British North America were the worst on record. There died on the passage - 6,116. There died in quarantine - 4,149. There died in the hospitals of the provinces - 7,180. The total number who died out of the 86, 812 embarked was 17,445 or 16.33% of the whole. In contrast to this figure of one death for each 6 embarked, the New York figures for total emigration in 1847 showed one death for every 145 embarked.[52]

These motality rates declined as authorities regulated accomodations and steam ships cut crossing time.

At Grosse Isel, there is a plaque which reads "In this secluded spot lie the mortal remains of 5,294 persons who, flying from pestilence and famine in Ireland in the year 1847 found in America but a grave."[53]

The hazards of the journey did not begin on shipboard. The American and English shipowners sold space to brokers mainly in Liverpool thus divorcing themselves from the scavenging of the emigrants who were cheated by the brokers, the lodging - house keepers and any and all land sharks who played upon them. All kinds of deception was practiced.

If they survived the voyage further trials awaited them in America. To use the phrase of Philip Bagenal, "the Irish alighted like tired migratory birds on the eastern shores of the shelter continent to find the perils of the port city as great as those aboard ship." Immigrant runners rushed to the gangblank to fight with other bullies for the immigrant's luggage and to carry him off to an immigrant hotel or boardinghouse. Many Irish-American newspapers warned the immigrant against these runners and told how others had been abused and fleeced.[54] Emigrant societies tried to aid their countrymen and their first accomplishment was the establishment of the Emigrant Hospital and Refuge on Ward's Island in 1847. Here immigrants suffering from non-contagious illnesses could be cared for.

The Immigration Commission of New York knew that something had to be done to eliminate the problems immigrants faced, but it was not until August 1, 1855 that Castle Garden, a former theatre, was officially opened as America's first receiving station for immigrants. Some eight million immigrants would enter here between 1855 and 1890.[55] A new immigrant station was planned and Ellis Island, which looked to one journalist like a modern watering-place hotel,[56] was completed in 1892.

However the immigrants of 1847 landed on the New York Wharfs and were taken quite literally by immigrant runners. Those who had some money left could travel inland and seek employment and homes away from the crowded port cities. Most, however, had little money and some were robbed after their arrival. For these people the only recourse was the city and the only job to be found was in the lower strata of the labor market.

In 1847 Lord John Russell introducing New British government measures on Ireland delivered a lengthy address defending the Government's refusal to aid Irish emigration. In this address he noted:

> "If ever two nationalities came into colision by meeting, it is the Irish and American in the United States. Everywhere in the United States the Irish-born part of the population is only tolerated by the native American as what has been termed "a serviceable nuisance". It is a population of foreigners and outcasts, exceedingly valuable as a mass or labour which gives productiveness to capital in a country where the natives dislike working for hire, but socially despised and in so many ways ill-treated, that parctically it does not enjoy that equality of rights which is the boast of the American democracy."[57]

Indeed the life style of the Irish differed greatly from the Yankee spirit of American Protestantism. The Yankee was present in the growing cities. "The newer Irish challenged the code of the community at almost every point. Impoverished on their arrival, ignorant of skilled trades, bereft of any apprenticeship training, they had nothing to offer but their hands and their willingness to work. As day laborers, they competed for the tough and menial jobs and were at the mercy of every shift in the job market... The native working classes feared and hatred them."[58]

As they has done in the 1820's and the 1830's the newer Irish immigrants took their picks and shovels and found work building railroads and canals. This song of 1847 tells of the life of these railroad builders:

PAT WORKS ON THE RAILWAY

In eighteen hundred and forty-one
I put my corduroy breeches on
I put my corduroy breeches on
To work upon the railway

In eighteen hundred and forty-two
I left the Old World for the new
Bad cess to the luck that brought me through
To work upon the railway.

In eighteen hundred and forty three
Twas then that I met sweet Molly McGee
An elegant wife she's been to me
While working on the railway

In eighteen hundred and forty four
I traveled the land from shore to shore
I traveled the land from shore to shore
To work upon the railway

In eighteen hundred and forty five
I found myself more dead than alive
I found myself more dead than alive
From working on the railway

It's "Pat do this and "Pat do that"
Without a stocking or cravat
Nothing but an old straw hat
While I worked on the railway

In eighteen hundred and forty seven
Sweet Biddy McGee she went to heaven
If she left one kid she left eleven
To work upon the railway.[59]

In Pennsylvania the Irish built the railroads which hauled coal from the mines employing their countrymen. In 1839 a dollar a day was normal pay in Pennsylvania - and when the workers asked for more money their whiskey allotment was increased. On the Connecticut Railroad Irish workers were paid twenty cents a day in 1848.[60]

Perhaps with all this the laborer was fortunate. Others of his countrymen found jobs hard to come by. On April 2, 1830 an advertisement appeared in the *New York Courier and Enquirer* which proclaimed: "No Blacks or Irish need apply."[61] This discrimmination was to follow Irish men and women throughout the first half of the 19th century.

The following some illustrates the common attitudes toward the Irish as well as depicting the brash temper attributed to them:

I'm a decent boy just landed from
the town of Ballyfad;
I want a situation and I want it
very bad
I've seen employemnt advertised,
Its just the thing, says I,
But the dirty spalpeen ended with
"No Irish need apply,"
Whoo, says I "that is an insult, but
to get the place I'll try,"
So I went there to see the blackguard
With his "No Irish need apply".

CHORUS:

Some do think it is a misfortune to be
Christened Pat or Dan,
But to me it is an honor to be born an
Irishman

I started out to find the house, I got
there mighty soon;
I found the old chap seated - he was
reading the Tribune.
I told him what I came for, when he
in a rage did fly;
"No"! he says, you are a Paddy, and no
Irish need apply."
Then I gets my dander rising and I'd
like to black his eye

For to tell an Irish gentleman
"No Irish need apply",
I couldn't stand it longer so a-hold of
him I took
And I gave him such a belting as he'd
get at Donnybrook
He hollered "Milia Murther", and to get
away did try,
And swore he'd never write again
"No Irish need apply."
Well de made a big apology; I told him
then goodbye.
Saying when next you want a beating
Write "No Irish need Apply...[62]

The image of the Irish worker was that of the indolent "Paddy", fists cocked and ready, a reluctant worker at best. Yet the amount of money remitted to Ireland during these years paints a somewhat different picture.

The nativist chose to see the Irish as "the children of bigoted Catholic Ireland like the frogs which were sent out as a plague against Pharoah..."[63]

Pharoah's frogs did not flourish but for the most part they survived. One of the paradoxes of the Irish immigrant is that he came from the Irish Countryside and populated the American city. As we have said dew immigrants had the money to travel beyond their port of entry. Certainly they did not have money to buy land and in reality they were not farmers as we know farmers. They were tenants at best and mostly laborers on the Irish land they had left. The famines had given them a bad taste for the land and they needed ready money to send back to family and friends. All of these things combined to turn the Irish into city dwellers.

By mid-century there were 133,730 Irish born inhabitants of New York, 26% of the total population. By 1855, 34% of the city voters were Irish. By 1890 when 80% of the population of New York City was of foreign parentage, a third of these (409,924 persons of 1,215,463) were Irish, making more than a quarter of the total population.[64]

Their survival in the city was tenuous.

"These high brick houses tower up to heaven, each flat holding from five to ten families and one building numbering frequently a population of six hundred souls... The condition of the Irish is by no means the worst but the atmosphere of the place is death, morally and physically."[65]

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century several colonization projects were conceived in an effort to get the Irish out of the cities. These were promoted by such men as Thomas D'Arcy McGee. McGee has fled Ireland after the rebellion of 1848 and became one of the most respected Irish-American journalists of his time. In 1856 he was instrumental in forming an "Irish Catholic Convention for the promotion of actual settlements in North America". In opposition to the scheme sttod the most influencial Irish Catholic voice in America, Archbishop Hughes of New York. He argued that the city dwellers were unfit for the life which was being proposed and that resettlement would do more harm than good. The scheme was not successful, nor was any later scheme to break up the urban concentration of Irish.

The Immigrant did leave the Atlantic Seaboard cities in seach of jobs. Throughout the Nineteenth Century every successive railroad town became a center of Irish strength and they also joined the rush to California in 1849. They were in great part the physical builders of their cities.

In Pennsylvania those Irishmen who came to dig canals stayed to dig coal attracting fellow countrymen to the anthracite coal counties. They worked on the Delaware and Hudson Canal, the coal waterway to the Hudson and dug the Lehigh Canal from Mauch Chunk to Easton. They labored on the famous gravity railroad that carried coal from Summit Hill to Mauch Chunk and as miners were to make Summit Hill an Irish principality. Strange sounding names like Mahoning, Pottsville, Tamaqua and Shenandoah started to filter back to Ireland.[66]

An Irish emigrant in Cincinnati shoveling out large stones summed up a common attitude by saying that America was a rare place for a working man. "Deed it is, sir: a man that can do hard rough work and keep from drink, need never look behind him". If the Irish did look behind, they might have seen their immigrant brothers struggling up after them.

American nativism was not dead, if in effect it will ever die. The year 1854 saw the emergence of the American or Know-Nothing party. In the elections of 1854-1855 they scored victories in Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and most of New England. The order appealed to a nation of joiners who found secrecy and ritual appealing. The Irish were the special target of the Nativists but the Germans did not escape untouched.

The urban Irish had become very active in politics and thus caused alarm among many Americans. In 1853 the nativist Providence Journal warned that there were now 6,000 alien barbarian voters in the city whereas fifteen years earlier there had been not one.[67]

Violence followed as it had in the 1830's and there were battles between Irish and Know-Nothings in Philadelphia, Newark, Baltimore, Brooklyn, and other cities. The Know-Nothings were determined to save America from Catholicism.

The effects of Know-Nothingism was to make Irish Americans more clannish and nationalistic and loyal to the Democratic party. In the midst of this the Irish-American had to face the question of Abolition and the trauma of the American Civil War.

Between 1850 and 1860 over 900,000 Irish immigrants entered the United States.[68] In most of the cities they had found their voice through politics. In New York prior to the Civil War they had battered down the obstacles which kept them from power in that political organization known as Tammany Hall. They had given their loyality to the Democratic Party but the issue of slavery had isolated them within that party.

As the least secure members of the American nation they were not generous in extending their sympathy to the Negro. They felt that the sufferings of the urban white poor were just as severe. However they did not favor secession as they held the union in strong allegience.

But when war was declared and President Lincoln called for volunteers the Irish responded. Nearly 150,000 natives of Ireland served in the union forces with exclusive Irish regiments formed in New York, Massachusetts, Michigan and other states. One notable officer was Thomas T. Meagher an exiled leader the 1848 rebellion of the "Young Irelanders" who raised the famed "Irish Brigade". The estimated 85,000 Irishborn residents of the Confederate States of America and those of Irish descent residing in the south rallied overwhelmingly to the cause of States Rights.[69]

"The outstanding service rendered the Union cause by the various Irish-American units was tarnished by the violent draft riots of July 1863 in New York City. A variety of circumstances underlay the riot. The federal draft law was inequitable: the well-to-do could buy their way out, while the poor had to serve. Labor troubles were also involved. When New York longshoremen went out on strike, Negro strike breakers were brought in to do their work. On top of this the government began drafting the strikers most of whom were Irish to fight in what appeared to them a war to free blacks to take their jobs".[70]

The main object of attack were Negroes. A Negro orphan asylum hapless individual negroes who were seen on the street were attacked and several were hanged. It was a classic example of the poor in their misery venting their fury on other poor who were even worse off.[71] It was ironic that these riots occurred only one week after the Irish in the Union Army had played a heroic part in the battle of Gettsyburg.

Americans, native and immigrant had come together in a common cause and afterward the bitter antagonism did not flare as openly. The expanding opne community of America after the Civil War even included the Irish American.

In those decades after the Civil War the Irish developed their characterisitic style in American politics. They began to use what power they had to influence events in Ireland. In the period from 1860 to 1880 the success of Irish nationalism lay in action taken not only in Ireland but in America.

Life in Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century was only slightly better than in the first half. Inspired by Revolutions occurring in Europe the "Yound Irelanders" attempted to raise the flag of an independent Ireland in 1848. Of course they failed, however, they carried the seeds of this revolution to exile in America. In 1858 the Irish Republican Brotherhood was founded by James Stephens with a New York branch headed by John O'Mahoney. The Fenians held that Ireland must be freed by armed force and the leaders saw the American Civil War as a training ground for Fenian soldiers. Fenianism was very active in America during the war years. In May 1866 Fenian forces led by John O'Neill invaded Canada. His troops, veterans of the Union Army fought several minor engagements with Canadian forces but were obliged to withdraw after United States Government intervention.[72]

American politicians were surprisingly reluctant to thwart the invasion because they were courting the Irish vote. The Fenians were the only organization in United States history to arm and drill in public for the invasion of a country with which the United States was at peace.[73]

The Fenian revolt failed in Ireland, and in America interest in other nationalistic movements developed. In 1867 Can Na Gael was founded as a secret, oath-bound society dedicated to promoting republicanism in Ireland, organizing Irish Americans to help Ireland and opposing British influence in the United States.[74] Failed revolutionary movements in Ireland continued to send rebelts to America where they were welcomed and where they played an important role in the Irish-American societies. The Irish-Americans remained vitally concerned with events in Ireland. They lent support and encouragement to the cause of Irish freedom. It was almost as if a new Irish nation had come into being in America, an Irish Nation which was beyond any strictures the British government could impose. The idea of Irish nationhood welded these two peoples together. Financial support for Ireland was amazing. After the famine of 1880 private contributions were estimated at $5,000,000. Every Irish leader from O'Connell and Parnell to DeValera has sought financial aid from Irish Americans.[75]

Irish American nationalism was not just an echo of the Irish movement. It has an American flavor since it also sprang from the immigrant experience in the new world. It almost seemed that the separation from Ireland and the trauma of beginning life anew had produced in the Irish American an intense nostalgia for the Old Country. The amazing thing is that this was just as strong asn third generation Irish Americans.

In Ireland one could differentiate three basic strains characterizing the nationalistic organizations: "1) The Parliamentary group seeking constitutional home rule toward the end of the century under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell; 2) The land reformers, such as Michael Davitt's Land League; 3) The secret revolutionary organizations such as the Fenians and the Irish Republican Brotherhood."[76]

All of these movements found support in America. John Devoy, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa and other Fenian leaders had been banished from Ireland and upon arrival in New York City they immediately were welcomed into Clan-na-Gael. Under Devoy the Clan became by the end of the 1870's the most important Irish revolutionary society in the United States. After perhaps a decade of existence it had approximately 10,000 members. Its membership was drawn from the working class but leadership came from the professions and from skilled trade unions. Terence V. Poderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor and one time mayor of Scranton was a senior guardian.[77]

Irish freedom was not the only thing on the Irish American's mind during these years. In the 1870's and 1880's America was experiencing labor unrest. The Knights of Labor, the first nation-wide union movement had been founded in 1869. The Knights were a mixed body of skilled and unskilled workers bound by oath and ritual, partly secret, and patterned on Masonic lines (a fact which brought them into conflict with the Roman Catholic hieracrchy). In its ranks were thousands of Irish workers.[78]

In Pennsylvania's southern anthracite fields another labor group had allegdly formed. Many books have been written about the Molly Maguires" and their story is too extensive to tell here. Labor conditions in the anthracite mines were certainly substandard, and social conditions were even worse. From shuch conditions militant action could easily spring. However, the reputation for violence and disorder which grew around the name "Molly Maguire" was to prove a reputation which Irish workmen and labor leaders would carry for decades.

On both sides of the Atlantic the quest for Irish nationhood continued. In 1870 the Home Rule movement had been founded to seek internal self-government for Ireland. In 1874 it has its first political success: the election of 59 "Home Rule" members to the House of Commons. In 1877 Charles Stewart Parnell was elected President of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britian.[79] American Fenians threw their support to Parnell and Home Rule.

Again the potato thrust itself into Irish politics. In 1877 and 1878 there were critical shortages of potatoes in the West of Ireland. A peasant revolt began to flicker in County Mayo and the "Land War" was on.

Michael Davitt was an ardent Nationalist who in 1877 came to the United States to try to persuade Irish Americans to accept his plan for agrarian reform. "As embodied in the Land League which he founded in 1879 the scheme was sufficiently practical to enlist the tenant farmer and sufficiently militant to please the Fenian rank and file. Moreover it was a constitutional movement that the Irish Home Rule party could advocate in the House of Commons."[80]

In 1880 the Irish National Land League of the United States was founded. When a convention was held in 1881 a quarter of a million dollars was subscribed to aid "Land War".[81]

In Ireland the League sought to maintain the peasant on the land in the face of rack renting and evictions and landlord oppression. The chief weapon which evolved was the "boycott" (the name came from one Captain Boycott a despised County Mayo land agent). It was a peaceful weapon, however, it existed side by side with more violent ones such as cattle maiming, burning and shooting. In 1881 Davitt and Parnell were arrested and the Land League was outlawed but in 1882 the leaders were released and the Land War ended on compromise terms favorable to the tenants.

In 1886 Gladstone introduced a home-rule bill. It was defeated in the House of Commons but not before agitators in Ulster has warned Protestants that "Home Rule Means Rome Rule."[82]

If Parnell was the most successful Irish politician of the 1880's, equally impressive were those Irish Americans who fought their way into the ruling councils of the urban organizations of the Democratic party. Often the protagonists on both sides were Irish. Their ambitions did not stop on this side of the Atlantic for they hoped to be able to influence Irish affairs directly. When Parnell fell from power it was a hard blow for the Irish Americans and they pulled back from the fray temporarily.

At home, also, they had to deal with new waves of anti-Catholic and anti-Irish sentiment. In 1887 the American Protective Association, or APA was founded in Clinton, Iowa by Henry Bowers, son of a German immigrant. During the early 1890's the organization grew to a million members. "Thomas Baily Aldrich profoundly distrubed by the thousands who were entering the United States through gates that were practically unguarded commented sarcastically; Columbus did not discover America; it was St. Patrick! He is in full defiant possession now".[83] The Protestant ministry as a whole remained quiet and the movement lasted about ten years. The issue however lies smoldering and has burst to flames throughout the twentieth century.

In 1893 the Gaelic League was founded in Ireland to promote cultural nationalism. Branches were formed in America and its objectives - the promotion of the Irish language - and the revival of the national culture were widely supported. This time from 1890 to 1910 was almost the lull before the storm.

The Gaelic revival occupied some of the nationalists in Ireland and American politics obsessed the Irish in the United States. The National Literary Society and the Theatre which became the Abbey was founded by W.B. Yeats and Lady Gregory in 1899. Yeat's play "Cathleen ni Houlihan became almost a sacrament to the young nationalists of the time.[84]

But beneath the search for a national culture important things were happening. In 1896 James Connolly founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party. In 1908 Sein Fein Party was established, based upon the political philosophy of Arthur Griffith.[85] In America the mood of Irish Americans was antagonistic toward so-called American Imperialism and "foreign alliances". In Ireland against mounting tensions between Ulster Unionists and Nationalists, Home Rule had passed Commons three times and could no longer be blocked by the Lords. In 1914 it received royal assent but was set aside because of the European war.

In that same year in America an angry Woodrow Wilson lashed out against "hyphenated Americans", a tag which he was to regred later.

"Oh words are lightly spoken",
Said Pearse to Connolly.
"Maybe a breath of politic words
Has withered our Rose Tree;
Or maybe but a wind that blows
Across the bitter sea".

"It needs to be but watered"
James Connolly replied
"To make the green come out again
And spread on every side
And shake the blossom from the bud
To be the garden's pride".

"But where can we draw water"
Said Pearse to Connolly,
"When all the wells are parched away?
O plain as plain can be
There's nothing but our own red blood
Can make a right Rose tree"[86]

THE ROSE TREE
William Butler Yeats

"Irishmen and Irishwomen. In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she received her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland through us summons her children to the flag and strikes for her freedom."[87] Armed insurrectionsists in Dublin, led by the dreamers - Padraic Pearce, Joseph Mary Plunkett and some realists Tom Clarke, James Connolly asserted Ireland's independence on Easter Day, 1916.

They lost the battle but as she had so often in the past England provided the victory. By brutally executing the leaders, she won for the rebels the support of the Irish people and also sympathy and financial aid from America.

In the aftermath of the "Easter Rising" Sinn Fein won sweeping parliamentary election victories. In 1919 Sinn Fein's M.P.'s constitute themselves an Irish National Assembly - "Dail Eireann". They reasserted the Irish Republic with a declaration of independence and a provisional constitution. Eamon DeValera was elected President of the Dail assisted by Arthur Griffith, and Michael Collins organized the Irish Republican Army. The Anglo Irish War (The Troubles) had begun.[88]

During the War, the Dail turned to America for help. DeValera came to the United States to obtain recognition for the Irish Republic from the American Government and to raise funds. Some $5,000,000 was raised during DeValera's tour but sources do not attribute this success to DeValera and say indeed that possibly more could have been raised without him. He quarreled with Irish-American leaders over the achievement of American support. Woodrow Wilson was antagonistic toward Irish American leaders and he steadfastly refused to present Ireland's cause to the peace conference at Paris following World War I, Irish American opposition to the Versailles Treaty was pronounced and vocal. Whether this opposition was influential in the rejection of the League of Nations is a matter for conjecture. The cause of the Irish Nation was not helped by those world leaders who believed that "all peoples are entitled to self-government and self-determination."[89] In Ireland Guerrilla warfare between IRA and British troops, the "Auxillaries" and the "Black and Tans" raged until July 1921 when a truce was arranged and negotiations began on a peace treaty.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty was ratified by Dail in January 1922 and the Irish Free State was established in the 26 countries. Ireland had been partitioned. DeValeria rejected the Treaty and in June of 1922 he and his supporters launched the Irish

Civil War. Michael Collins who so brilliantly directed the war against Great Britian now had to oppose his own people. Collins' assassination by Republicans in 1922 was a loss to Ireland which is still incalculable.

A poet, young in the time of Michael Collins, has written this of him:

"____I was twelve years old that time.
Those of the past were heroes in my mind:
Edward the Bruce whose brother Robert made him.
Of Ireland King; Wolfe Tone and Silken Thomas
And Prince Red Hugh O'Donnell most of all.

The newsboy knew and the apple and orange women
Where was his shifty lodging Tuesday night;
No one betrayed him to the foreigner,
No Protestant or Catholic broke and ran
But murmered in their hearts; here was a man!

Then came that mortal day he lost and laughed at,
He knew it as he left the armoured car;
The sky held in its rain and kept its breath;
Over the Liffey and the Lee, the gulls,
They told his fortune which he knew, his death.

Walking to Vespers in my Jesuit school
The sky was come and gone; O Captain, My Captain!
Walt Whitman was the lesson that afternoon -
How sometimes death magnifies him who dies,
And some though mortal, have achieved their race."[90]
THE TOMB OF MICHAEL COLLINS
Denis Devlin

In 1923 the Republicans laid down their arms and the Irish Free State entered the League of Nations. In 1927 DeValera formed Fianna Fail and in 1932 when it won the General election, he became head of the government.

With the establishment of the Free State, Irish Americans began to fade into the mass that was America. They tried to flex their political muscle occasionally as in 1928 when they enthusiastically backed Al Smith for President. His defeat after a campaign that saw a revival of religious and social antagonisms was bitter for them.[91]

Padraic the poet rebel of 1916 in his poem The Fool asked: 'O wise men riddle me this: what if the dream come true?[92] The dream came true, but what happened to the dreamers?

The Irish Republic evolved into a stable democracy. When Eamon DeValera came to power again it was by the elective process and not by the gun. However that is not to say that Ireland's troubles disappeared with the proclamation of the Republic. The IRA continued its guerilla warfare in an avowed attempt to reunite the partitioned country. Industrial development came slowly and a massive population decline has only been arrested within the past decade. Northern Ireland was more industrialized before the famine and its population has been relatively stable. The Republic is sparsely populated, there being only 110 people per square mile as opposed to the 294 per square mile in Northern Ireland.[93]

The population decline in the Republic has halted due to increased industrialization but it is still only 46% of what it was in 1841. Entrance into the European Economic Community has also bought many gains to the country. But serious problems erupted again in 1968 when Catholics in Ulster began to agitate for civil rights. The "Irish Question" flared forth both in the "6 Counties" and in the Republic. Sectarian killings have claimed almost 2,000 lives since then and there is no solution in sight.

In the United States suddenly the Irish-American were Irish again and they began to finance the IRA (especially its provisional wing). The extent of these contributions have not even been estimated but Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien contends that "...without American aid the IRA provisionals could not have sustained themselves".[94] It would seem that only a threat to Irish nationalism brings a response from Irish Americans and that they can only find identity in animosity.

It would be tragic if this were the only truth. There is such a rich heritage to be found in Irish history and culture. The Irish themselves have had to struggle to regain that heritage. The Irish language was almost obliterated and was in fact only preserved in small areas of the country. It was estimated that prior to the famine more than 2,000,000 people in Connacht and Munster alone used Irish as their everyday language. But the Irishman found that "Irish didn't sell the cow". Now there are only four small areas known as Gaeltachs or areas where Irish is the main language.

There are conserted efforts underway to aid in the preservation of Irish. Recently the Minister for the Gaeltach has set up "Bord na Gaeilge", and charged it with the promotion of Irish throughout the country.

Frank O'Connor has said that: "No nation in the world is so divorced from its own past as Ireland." He saw that improverishment of national character as the result of the loss of the Irish language, a loss which he says "left the way open for the synthetic nationality that still affects us", when language is lost the tradition that evolved with and in that language is lost also. The literature, the music, the myths, and sagas of the Irish people evoled from the Irish language. There are many groups in Ireland actively working to preserve traditional music to encourage literature and drama and to make that rich folk life known to the people.

The Irish American Cultural Institute annually awards a prize of $30,000 for Irish letters.

There are orphans of the Shan Van Vocht on both sides of the sea and both must strive to regain tehir heritage.

John V. Kelleher, one of the foremost Celtic scholars in the United States in discussing "Irishness in America" has said:

> "Irishness in America petered away into a genial largely uninterested St. Patrick's Day recollection of faded pieties. In place of the big organizations...there now remain a few societies that concern themselves intelligently with Irish culture and a few others that exist because for some reason they exist.
>
> Is there then nothing to show for all that century-long struggle of the Irish to become American? Practically nothing. They became American and that was it."[95]

That cannot be all. We must accept a real inheritance.

"Having left hard ground behind
in the hardness of their place-names
They have sailed out for an island.

As long the top of a wood
Their boats have crossed the green ridges,
so has the pale sky overhead.

Appeared as a milky surface,
A white plain where the speckled fish
drift in lamb-white clouds of fleece.

They will come back to the warm earth
and call it by possessive names:
Mother, thorned rose, woman, love's birth;

To hard hills of stone they will give
the words for breast; the meadowland,
the soft gutturals of rivers,

Tongues of water, to firm plains, flesh
As one day we will discover
Their way of living in their death

They entered their soft beds of soil
Not as graves, for this was the land
That they had fought for, loved and killed

each other for. They'd arrive again:
death could be no horizon
but the shoreline of their island.

...

We cannot yet say why or how
they could not take things as they were.
Someday we will learn of how

their bronze swords took the shape of leaves;
their gold spears are found in cornfields
tehir arrows are found in trees.[95]
THE INSULAR CELT
Ciaran Carson

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The general demand for Welsh miners meant higher pay, greater responsibility, superior status, and decent living and employment conditions. Not surprisingly some Welsh miners were able to save substantial sums of money and invest in their own mining ventures. Although Welsh coal barons were not uncommon in the anthracite region, many more Welshmen became shop keepers, landlords, and officials with the coal and iron police.

The ready integration of the Welsh into the anthracite economy paralleled their easy religious adaptation. The Welsh represented a variety of Protestant church groups. During the nineteenth century Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches appeared in the coal fields to serve a growing Welsh population. In Luzerne County alone there were twenty-four Congregational churches, twelve Presbyterian churches, and seventeen Baptist churches that served Welsh congregations. In Lackawanna County, the figures were also impressive. There, eleven Congregational churches, ten Presbyterian, and nine Baptist churches indicated a considerable Welsh influence. The native population showed a little anxiety about religious loyalties that seemed so traditionally American, In fact, there was general agreement by both Welsh and native Americans that Protestant practices, supposedly emphasizing local religious authority and congregational participation, were quite in keeping with American democratic theory.

Since the Welsh adjusted so easily to prevailing economic conditions and religious values, it was not surprising that they played a significant political role. Although never numerous enough to attain absolute control, as the Irish did through New York's Tammany Hall, the Welsh were able to extract political influence by working through alliances with native Americans and immigrant groups that came into the region at a later time. Working largely through the Republican Party, generally regarded as the party of respectability and native Americanism, Welsh politicians regularly achieved public office in the Luzerne-Lackawanna region. And since the Welsh community was economically successful, there was little need for Welsh politicians to involve themselves personally in widespread efforts to uplift their fellow countrymen. Immigrant politicans in other areas, confronting massive numbers of poverty-stricken fellow countrymen and forced to act on their behalf, were often overwhelmed by charges of favoritism and corruption by native Americans.

The successful adjustment of the Welsh to the environment they encountered in the anthracite region is perhaps best illustrated by the substance and function of their organizational activities. Welsh organizations generally lacked the desperate and total orientation toward survival that characterized the activities of other groups. Welsh miners at times engaged in union activity, particularly upon their early arrival in the coal fields, but gradually assumed supervisory and management positions that reduced the frequency of such activity. Their ministers offered spiritual solace and campaigned for temperance, but seldom were forced to undertake welfare activities and charity work on behalf of the Welsh community. Newspapers in Scranton and Wilkes-Barre reported that Welshmen, unlike other immigrants, were not likely to become burdens upon public and private welfare agencies. In fact, in Presbyterian and Congregational churches, Calvinist admonitions to work hard and get ahead were inculcated among the Welsh immigrants. In a like manner, political activity strengthened the position of individual Welshmen in the region, but was not organized to work extensively for the Welsh community as a whole. The Welsh, therefore, tended to accept self-help and individualism as realistic alternatives to tightly knit organizational efforts for community advancement.

Welsh cultural efforts paralleled their other activities in the anthracite region. Spokesmen for depressed ethnic groups in other areas of the United States often took to cultural studies to rehabilitate low esteem and fallen reputations. Irish spokesmen in New York, for example, urged Gaelic studies upon Irishmen as a mark of refinement and an alternative to violent and disreputable protest against depressed conditions. Welsh cultural activities, however, seem to have developed out of a fear that Welshmen would gradually lose their cultural heritage. Indeed, from the standpoint of many Welshmen, their easy economic, political and religious integration in regional affairs signaled the eventual extinction of old world characteristics. Emphasis on Welsh music, language, and literature, therefore, offered opportunities to preserve memories of the homeland. In fact, their Cambrian societies, concerts, and lectures often won the same approval among native Americans that their religious and economic activities gained.

Irishmen in the anthracite region, however, suffered a different fate. Due to famine in Ireland, large numbers of Irish began to seek refuge in America in the 1840's. Because most were either disgusted with farming or unable to afford land, they usually settled in cities like New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston. Since the majority were peasants who were unfamiliar with industrial techniques, many also journeyed to the anthracite fields to find work as unskilled laborers. Most Irishmen who lived in the region were employed as coal miners, a few served as policemen, and only a very few reached the professional and business classes. Even when times were generally prosperous, Irishmen had to confront low pay, harsh and dangerous working conditions, and inadequate housing. In times of overproduction or national depression, however, when coal prices inevitably fell, Irishmen suffered widespread unemployment and malnutrition, and were often evicted from dismal living quarters. These problems sometimes caused Irishmen to turn to alcohol for relief. Alcoholism, in turn, weakened family ties and accounted for considerable numbers of Irishmen who were arrested for disorderly conduct.

Native Americans reacted to Irish social and economic problems with either indifference or open hostility. Many felt that Irish alcoholism, crime rates, and unemployment statistics verified traditional stereotypes of irresponsible and lazy Irishmen. Newspapers cited jokes and anecdotes that depicted the Irish as stupid, corrupt, and vulgar. And since most Irishmen were Catholic, they were often criticized for "foreign" and "aristocratic" religious values. Native Americans, and many first and second generation Welsh residents, doubted that Catholicism was adaptable to American democracy. In this atmosphere, prejudice would obviously help to perpetuate the Irishman's poor economic conditions. At times, a "no Irish need apply" attitude seemed rampant throughout the coal region. Mine bosses preferred to hire Welsh immigrants at the expense of Irishmen. In fact, Irishmen were sometimes fired to make room for skilled Welsh miners who desired employment.

In order to deal with the atmosphere they encountered in the coal fields, the Irish turned to organized activity. Unlike the Welsh, who found the area conducive to individual development, Irishmen were forced to look to cooperative efforts for survival. This, of course, was a usual tactic that depressed immigrant groups resorted to in other areas of the United States. In New York, where the Irish gathered in great number, organizational efforts proved extremely successful. There, Irishmen either infiltrated and took control of existing groups or initiated new institutions. Tammany Hall, originally organized by native Americans,was gradually taken over by Irish politicians. Despite the widespread corruption associated with Tammany, it performed crude welfare services for depressed immigrants. The New York Catholic Church, under the leadership of Archbishops John Hughes, John McCloskey, and Michael Corrigan, provided schools, youth associations, and a variety of organized activities to uplift Irishmen. Athletic clubs, social groups, and various labor unions also helped ease the burdens that Irishmen confronted in New York.

Irish organizational efforts in the anthracite region, for a variety of reasons, failed to duplicate the success they achieved elsewhere. Geographic factors undoubtedly worked against Irish organizations. The anthracite region entailed a broad area of some 400 to 500 square miles. This area was divided into several distinct coal fields: The Lehigh, the Luzerne-Lackawanna, and two fields in Schuylkill County. Not only were the fields separated from each other by mountains and farm lands, but each field had its own local peculiarities. This situation meant that the anthracite population was divided and localism prevailed. For the Welsh, who were able to survive and develop through self-help and individual effort, divisive geographic factors posed only minimal problems. The Irish, however, who needed organized activities to survive, found that geographic division represented a substantial barrier to their efforts. Regional divisions and local distinctiveness, therefore, made integrated group efforts difficult to attain and meant that Irish groups often worked at cross-purposes with each other.

Regional divisions took a particular toll on labor union efforts. The Workingmen's Benevolent Association, founded in 1868, was composed mainly of Irishmen who sought to protest the conditions they endured in the anthracite regions. From the beginning, the WBA was beset by regional divisions that resulted from differing management and mining practices throughout the anthracite fields. In the southern fields in Schuylkill County, mine shafts were old and deep, tunneling was expensive, and the margin of profit was consequently narrow. Since coal was more easily mined in the newer Wyoming-Lackawanna region to the north, profits were higher. As a result, wages were better in Wyoming-Lackawanna, there was less support for the WBA in that region, and miners there often ignored or opposed work suspenions. Wilkes-Barre's *Record of the Times* encouraged this mood with claims that Lackawanna workers has the "least right to accuse their employers of injustice" since "they were paid more than any other region received. . . ." In Schuylkill labor was more aggressive since wages were lower. But the willingness of Luzerne miners to terminate strikes quickly, caused bitterness among Schuylkill workers and lessened their enthusiasm for long strikes. Furthermore, since workers in Luzerne were disinterested and money was scarce in Schuylkill, it was difficult to build up WBA funds in order to withstand prolonged and destructive strikes.

These forces came into play most notably in 1875. At that time anthracite operators introduced wage cuts throughout the coal region. In response, Joseph Welsh, the President of the WBA, called a strike. As usual, the strike was not uniformly accepted throughout the fields. Northern miners generally remained at work while Schuylkill miners stayed out for some five months. The so-called "long strike" exhausted and embittered Schuylkill miners and forced the WBA to give in and accept wage cuts. The union was now discredited while Irish members faced discrimination. Since Irishmen had been powerful in the WBA and had been commonly accused of violence during the strike, mine operators often refused to rehire them after the strike ended. In the midst of national depression, many Irishmen found themselves in especially dire straits. Welsh miners, however, who had specialized skills to offer, and were not as openly involved in labor protest, were better able to survive depression conditions.

The relationship between particular anthracite fields and other urban areas also adversely affected the Irish. Although connections between the various anthracite fields were not well developed, transportation facilities emerged that connected particular fields to broader urban markets. The Luzerne-Lackawanna area sent its coal mainly to New York, the Schuylkill fields turned to Philadelphia, and Lehigh looked to both New York and Philadelphia. These economic relationships had significance for ethnic groups. Transportation lines made it relatively easy for anthracite Irishmen to seek and accept direction from Irish spokesmen and institutions that existed outside the region. Since large and powerful Irish communities and organizations existed in New York and Philadelphia, it was natural that isolated Irish communities in the coal fields look outside the region for direction. Whereas Welsh immigration centered in the anthracite fields and leadership developed within the region, Irish spokesmen who were unfamiliar with anthracite conditions often set the tone for organizational efforts in the coal fields. This trend retarded the development of Irish leadership and organizations indigenous to the anthracite fields and emphasized activities that were unrealistic in the region.

The failure to develop a significant Irish-American press in the anthracite region indicates the influence of powerful Irish-American communities in nearby urban areas. The availability of Irish-American newspapers from New York and Boston offset the emergence of a strong Irish press in the coal fields. Throughout the 1870's, the Boston _Pilot_ and New York _Irish World_ circulated in the anthracite region. These papers tried to attract a broad reading audience by including news items about Irishmen who lived throughout the United States. They also devoted attention to affairs in Ireland. In this manner the anthracite Irish satisfied their longing for the old country and found sympathetic consideration of their own conditions. But the coverage of local and regional affairs was inevitably superficial. The advice and information provided held greater relevance for urban Irishmen than for the anthracite Irish. There was little about labor organization, political integration, or religious affairs that was pertinent to specific conditions in the anthracite fields.

The only indigenous Irish newspaper of note in the anthracite region was the _Emerald Vindicator_, published in Pottsville by John Boland. The _Vindicator_ began publication in 1875 as the official organ of the Emerald Beneficial Association. The paper continually publicized the association's adherence to Catholic doctrines, publicized its efforts to find employment for members during hard times, and echoed its commitment to "Faith, Hope and Charity, and Brotherly Love. . . ." By supporting "literature, science and virtuous practices among all mankind," the paper essentially urged Irishmen to adhere to respectable self-help methods of advancement, a procedure that Irishmen found difficult to accept given the conditions they encountered. In terms of Irish political affairs, organized labor, and societies other than the Beneficial Association, the paper offered little of value to Irishmen. The paper ignored Irish problems and suggested that other ethnic groups take a leading role in the Beneficial Association. Since Irish immigrants had little interest in this approach to their affairs, the paper had a small circulation and constantly issued appeals for new subscribers. Whereas Irish-American newspapers in other areas were usually published on a weekly basis, the _Emerald Vindicator_ had neither the funds or subscribers for more than a monthly issue.

The *Emerald Vindicator* marks a notable contrast to Welsh journalistic efforts in the anthracite area. It is quite true that *Y Drych* (The Mirror), a Utica, New York, publication circulated in the Pennsylvania coal fields after its founding in 1851. The paper reported news of Welsh communities throughout America, conditions in Wales, and personal notes about births, deaths, and marriages in both Wales and America. But *Y Drych* had to contend with various competitors in the coal fields. In the 1860's *Baner Y Bobl* (Banner of the People), a short-lived paper, was published in Scranton. In 1868, *Baner America* (Banner of America) also began publication in Scranton. This paper, which merged with *Y Drych* in 1877, was controlled by prominent Welsh professional men and gained respect throughout America and even in Wales. Still another Welsh paper of note was *The Druid*, a paper that was printed in Scranton in the English language from 1907 until 1912. These newspapers collectively depicted Welsh communities that were generally secure andprogressive. There was little of the radical preaching and urgency that characterized the New York *Irish World* during the 1870's. Thus the prosperity of the Welsh and their concentration in the anthracite region, as opposed to other nearby areas, enabled them to establish several newspapers. The Irish, on the other hand, who suffered greater distress and therefore had greater need for their own press, looked elsewhere for editorial advice.

Without a strong press to provide direction, Irish political efforts in the coal fields faced substantial obstacles. It was all too easy to imitate Irish political methods in other areas and ignore problems that existed in the region. The Irish in the anthracite region usually followed Irish-American voting patterns in other parts of the United States and adhered to the Democratic party. Republican newspapers in Wilkes-Barre and Pottsville alluded to Irish influence in the Democracy and suggested that Republicans drew support from more respectable Welsh, German, and English elements. On occasion, particularly in Schuylkill County, the Irish were able to dominate the Democratic organization. At such times, it was assumed that Irish politicians gained strength through political favors and the manipulation of Irish votes. Reports abounded that unscrupulous Irish politicians, like those in Tammany Hall, had been responsible for tax collection frauds and had personally profited from improper administration of public charities.

Despite a widespread fear that Irishmen in the coal fields might be able to construct a political machine similar to Tammany Hall, Irishmen encountered formidable barriers to political dominance. Whereas large Irish populations in geographically confined urban areas found political control relatively easy to achieve, the smaller Irish community in the expansive and divided coal regions found it impossible to achieve such political integration. For example, in New York in 1870 the number of Irish-born residents constituted more than one-fifth of the city's entire population. In the five coal producing counties in Pennsylvania in 1870, Irish immigrants amounted to only 11.7 percent of the total population. The size of the first generation, of course, dictated the size of the second and third generations. In New York, where the second and third generations were large in number, politicians has a substantial audience to build upon. But in the coal fields, where second and third generation Irishmen were less numerous, the Irish operated from weakness rather than strength. They should have organized their political activity to account for this disadvantage. The Welsh, who made efforts to conciliate other groups, provided an ideal model to follow. The Irish, however, with the New York experience so evident, ignored the Welsh example and attempted the same kind of power politics manifested by Tammany Hall. Since they lacked sufficient numerical strength and were distrusted by native Americans and Welsh groups, their political effort was doomed to failure.

Irish political disasters weakened efforts that sought to achieve Ireland's independence. For the immigrant, the concern for Ireland developed not just from sentiment, but was closely related to the alienation he suffered in America. The Irishman related his degradation in America very closely to Ireland's degradation as a nation. He believed that the same Anglo-Saxon who had been responsible for Ireland's poverty, now attacked and defiled the Irish in America. He wondered, "What might not Irishmen have been under proper treatment and good government, instead of the despised and rejected of nations?" Poor and depressed Irish-Americans found self-respect and comradery in nationalist organizations. Unfortunately for the anthracite Irish, nationalist organizations usually thrived in those urban areas where strong Irish political organizations existed. Tammany politicians in New York, for example, often gave nationalists publicity and financial aid in return for support during election campaigns. Leading nationalist organizers, therefore, preferred to concentrate on New York and Boston where Irish populations were larger, funds more available, and political contacts more productive. Although the Clan-na-Gael, a nationalist organization that advocated revolutionary methods, penetrated the coal fields in 1876, it never achieved substantial support. Nationalist efforts, therefore, which often lent cohesiveness to the Irish-American community and strengthened political and economic efforts for advancement, were notably lacking in the coal regions.

For the Welsh, political nationalism was not a very critical matter. Historically Wales had been overcome by England in 1282. In all the following years, there had been only one serious revolt against England, and that in the fourteenth century. Welsh immigrants in America, who suffered only minimal oppression at the hands of native Americans, had little reason or precedent for the resurrection of a vigorous nationalist movement. Self-respect did not rest upon Wales' independence from England. Instead, the anthracite Welsh found that cultural nationalism, a traditional interest in Wales, was suitable to their own needs and organizations. Just as people in the old country had emphasized language, literature, and culture to preserve their heritage, Welsh immigrants sought to do the same thing in this country. Through their newspapers and organizations they were able to make significant progress toward this end. Irish efforts toward a national culture, however, were too closely tied to more vigorous nationalist efforts that failed to develop in eastern Pennsylvania. Douglas Hyde and other Gaelic scholars preferred to propagate Irish culture in areas where nationalists and Irish-American politicians were numerous.

Religious activity, too, fell afoul of expansive geography and connections to outside urban areas. In the anthracite region, where Irishmen were acutely conscious of Catholic ties, clerical leadership was divided and failed to offer a clear sense of direction. Church directives came principally from two areas. Archbishop James Frederic Wood controlled a diocese that included Philadelphia and Schuylkill County. It was natural that Philadelphia absorbed most of his energies at the expense of the Schuylkill region. The northern anthracite fields, meanwhile, looked to Bishop William O'Hara of Scranton for religious direction. Aside from this different geographic focus, the two men held contradictory attitudes on Irish Catholic affairs. Archbishop Wood, for example, was of English ancestry and a convert to the Catholic Church. Like other American Catholics, he seems to have viewed the Irish, with their reputation for lawlessness and drunkenness, as a liability to the Church's progress in America. Feeling that the Irish had to be watched carefully, he was suspicious of societies and labor organizations that involved Irish participants. Bishop O'Hara, on the other hand, being of Irish extraction and more familiar with conditions in the anthracite region, was inclined to sympathize with and encourage organizational efforts. This situation ironically meant that Irish Catholics, who were accused of abject subservience to the Pope, were a good deal less unified than the Welsh, who belonged to a number of different Protestant groups. Unlike Irish Catholics, Welsh Protestant leaders seldom engaged in disputes with one another.

The divisions between Wood and O'Hara ultimately held severe ramifications for Irish-American social organizations in the coal fields, particularly the Ancient Order of Hibernians. During the 1870's, the AOH was allegedly related to the Molly Maguires, a secret group of Irish miners who provoked violence against coal miners in Schuylkill County. Although the relationship is still a debatable issue, Wood, who was anxious to end the violence, accepted evidence offered by Pinkerton detectives that a close connection existed between the Ancient Order and the Mollies. The archbishop had disliked the Hibernians' secret ritual for some years, criticized the order steadily during the early 1870's, and abruptly excommunicated it in 1875. Bishop O'Hara, however, was inclined to look more favorably upon the AOH. He generally tried to distinguish between individual members who were guilty of violence and the higher purposes of the order. Only in 1877, when available evidence increasingly identified the AOH with the Mollies, did O'Hara reluctantly take stronger action and excommunicate the AOH membership.

Before the differences of opinion between O'Hara and Wood were resolved, they had a pronounced impact on Irish Catholic affairs. While priests agreed that violence was intolerable, they were not certain about the extent of AOH involvement in Molly Maguire agitation. They usually quoted either O'Hara or Wood to justify their own previously conceived attitudes toward the AOH. The effect not only created a divided church throughout the region, but markedly reduced the effectiveness of the AOH, an organization that had provided charity, financial aid to the church, and social contact for poor Irishmen throughout America. The national executive of the AOH denounced local branches in Northumberland, Carbon, Columbia, and Schuylkill Counties. In Luzerne County, where the Mollies were not strong, branches of the AOH refused to recognize any connection with the Schuylkill branches. Whereas the AOH continued to perform valuable service throughout the nation, divided opinion rendered the organization, like the church itself, ineffective in the coal regions. Moreover, other Irish societies that had little to do with Molly Maguire activities, also fell victim to clerical censure. The Emerald Beneficial Association, professing strong Catholic sympathies, encountered clergymen who either supported the association unconditionally or who identified it with the AOH and suspected it of radical activities. In response, association officials bent over backwards to avoid clerical censure. They avoided controversial issues and tried to soften even the mildest Irish activities. Because of clerical indecision, therefore, Irish-Americans approached their societies with uncertainty and half-hearted enthusiasm.

ZEITGEIST

STURM UND DRANG

By

Margaret Mary Fischer

The German immigrant experience in the United States may be described as one of storm and stress for the individual. Differences in language, customs, and even dress, created difficulties which tended to separate the Germans from native Protestant Americans, and the Irish and English immigrants who could already speak English, the language of the new country. These differences are one reason which led the Germans to organize their own schools and churches, particularly the Lutheran and Roman Catholic denominations. The German language press flourished in the nineteenth century as the Germans in America tried desperately to preserve their language in the New World. The churches, schools and newspapers were the primary tools for language preservation.

A brief background of the German nation is essential for a more thorough understanding of the German character and temperament and the attempts by a group of German intellectuals to establish a "New Germany" in America during the mid-nineteenth century. Historian John E. Rodes in GERMANY: A HISTORY declares that German history includes two fundamental problems that have effected the development of the German state. The first problem, "Where is Germany?" has plagued the country for over a thousand years.

> Some nations are endowed with readily defined political boundaries, determined by prominent geographical landmarks, linguistic homogeneity or long historical tradition. But Germany is not so fortunate. The vast plain that stretches for some two thousand miles across northern Europe from the Ural Mountains in Russia to the English Channel is unbroken except for a number of rivers. The Erz Mountains and the Bohemian Forest in the east, the Vosges Mountains in the west, and the Alps in the south do not coincide with linguistic or ethnic boundaries. There is, in fact, no line of demarcation between Slavic and Germanic peoples, between religious affiliation or between those speaking Romance and those speaking Germanic languages. Throughout her history, therefore, Germany's boundaries depended little on geographic or ethnic considerations, but were primarily the result of wars and power politics.[1]

The second problem is leadership, "the problem of what region, what state, or what peoples should lead Germany."[2]

> During the Middle Ages the various powerful duchies and rising dynastic families vied for preeminence in the German Kingdom, and Germany as a whole was seriously weakened through these internal feuds and thereby deprived of a single center around which the future state could develop.[3]

The Hapsburg dynasty, in the fifteenth century, achieved some leadership success by consolidating its holdings and imposing a more centralized rule on the German Empire. The Reformation, however, quelched this success because the northern princes, who were both Protestant and anti-Hapsburg, wanted full sovereignty and complete independence. The Hapsburgs remained pro-Catholic which further reinforced the political fragmentation of Germany.

> This north-south split, originating in a power struggle between rival dynasties and religious groups, became more crystallized during the succeeding centuries. With Prussia's rise during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and its growing dominance over northern Germany, this rivalry for leadership tended to focus on a struggle between this new northern kingdom and Austria the center of the Hapsburg possessions... The 1860's finally brought an outward end to this struggle when Bismarck's Prussia inflicted an overwhelming defeat on a declining Austrian empire and Prussia became the undisputed leader of the newly united Germany in 1871.[4]

Although the concept of Germany as a country has existed for centuries, it was a united nation-state in the modern sense for only seventy-four years of its entire history, 1871-1945. Before 1871, it was a group of diverse German states loosely connected until 1806 in the Holy Roman Empire and from 1815 to 1866 in the German Confederation.[5] After the Third Reich and the Second World War, two distinct states emerged in the German nation: the Federal Republic of Germany in the West and the German Republic in the East.

October 6, 1683 is the date officially recognized as the origin of German immigration to America because it was on this date that the first permanent German settlement was established at Germantown, Pennsylvania, by a group of religious refugees from the Palatinate.

However, there were previous instances of a few sporadic Germans on American soil. Two authoritative historians of the Germans in America, Albert B. Faust, author of the comprehensive two-volume work, THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, and Theodore Huebener, in his book, THE GERMANS IN AMERICA, note that the first German to actually land in the New World was Tryker. As discoverer of the grape and member of Lief Ericson's expedition to Vineland in the eleventh century, Tryker has been memoralized in Norse sagas.

As early as 1607. three Germans, F. Ungar, H. Keffer and F. Volday, were among the members of Captain John Smith's colony at Jamestown, Virginia.[6]

> ... Considerable rivalry and irritation developed between them and the English "gentlemen," for they were the artisans of the colony. Despite their usefulness, Captain Smith had difficulties with them and referred to them as the "damned Dutch."
>
> The confusion of "Dutch" and "German" arose among the English-speaking population from the fact that the Germans called themselves "Deutsch." In fact, the Netherlands was part of the Holy Roman (German) Empire until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, and the Germans of the Lower Rhine and the Dutch, were, therefore, similar in background.[7]

Peter Minuit, engaged by the Dutch government as director of the colony of New Netherland (New York), was a Rhinelander and the first German of prominence in the New World. Jacob Leisler, born at Frankfort-on-Main, had come to New Amsterdam in the service of the Dutch West India Company and was elected second governor of New York.[8]

The Protestant Revolt (1517-1618) and the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) were responsible for the social and economic collapse of the German empire and the resultant religious unheavals. At the time of the Thirty Years War, only three religions were recognized by the German government: Lutheran, Reformed and Roman Catholic. Members of these groups were referred to as "church people" or those who belonged to the churches as by law established. "Sect" people represented religious bodies not recognized by the government and were frequently the object of unrighteous persecution.[9]

At the conclusion of the Thirty Years War, there was a rise in pietism and mysticism, particularly among the sects who began to experiment with new ways of salvation, which often involved not only changes in ritual and religious beliefs, but also a desire for an opportunity to experiment in some new environment with a new social and economic order.[10]

Among the sects were Mennonites, Schwenkfelders and Quakers. It was from these sects that the first colony of German immigrants was composed.

> In 1683, under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the good ship Concord, "the Mayflower of the German immigration," brought 13 German families to Philadelphia. Germantown, the first permanent settlement of German immigrants in the United States, was established and the stream of German immigration began to run in Pennsylvania with such force and volume that its influence is still apparent in the life of the state.[11]

It has been recorded that one of the servants of the leader was a "Romanist," documenting the fact that there was a Catholic at the founding of Germantown.[12]

These first settlers in Pennsylvania engaged in occupations or trades they practiced at home in the old land. Many were weavers and they soon opened a store in which to sell their products. Others discovered the grape and established vineyards. Eventually, there were carpenters, locksmiths, shoemakers and tailors.[13]

Pastorius recorded the hardships of the early settlers in his diary, GRUND UND LAGERBUCH and extolled their "Christian" endurance and indefatigable industry.[14]

Although the number of "sect" people who immigrated to America represents a small proportion of the total German immigration, their contributions have been significant. These include the first paper-mill in America, built by William Rittenhouse in November, 1683, and the earliest protest against Negro slavery in America in a document drawn up by Pastorius. The first annual fair, Jahrmarkt, was held in 1701.[15] Christopher Saur II, in 1739, began publication of a German language newspaper, Germantauner Zeitung.[16] In Skippauck, Pennsylvania, Christopher Dock, the first great German-American pedagogue began teaching and introduced the blackboard. He published the first pedagogical work in America, SCHULOR DNUNG, in 1750.[17]

> They helped to make the plow in the coat-of-arms of the State of Pennsylvania a symbol of respectability and it was due to this spirit of industry that mills were built at an early date to obtain the most essential staff of life, flour.[18]

Six years after its founding, Germantown was incorporated as a town and Pastorius was its first mayor.[19] John Greenleaf Whittier in his poem "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim" gives tribute to Pastorius and his accomplishments.[20]

Prior to the American Revolution, German immigration into Pennsylvania may be divided into three periods:

1) 1683-1710, the least in number represents the initial movement.

2) 1710-1727 shows an increase with about five to eight thousand a year. A strong current of Swiss Mennonites came to Pennsylvania about 1710. Other sects, including Dunkards and Schwenkfelders, also arrived during this era.

3) 1727-1775. During these years, 68,872 Germans came to Pennsylvania.[21]

The prosperity of the early settlers, advertisements of steamship companies, and "America" letters to relatives and friends back home are some of the reasons which induced other Germans to cross the ocean to America. Many of them were poor peasants and could not afford to pay passage; therefore, the ship companies devised two methods of financing the voyage: indentured servants and redemptioners.

> ...indentured immigrants were those who had signed a contract before embarking binding them to service for a specified number of years to pay the cost of their transportation to and maintenance in the colonies, whereas redemptioners were transported without pay or indenture and might be "redeemed" by having relatives or friends pay for their voyage within a certain number of days. . .[22]

Usually at the end of a period of three to seven years, an indentured servant was given a suit of clothes, a stipulated amount of money or land and invested with all the rights of citizenship.[23] This system was finally abolished at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Lutheran and Reformed Germans were not prominent in the earliest history of German settlements in Pennsylvania. However, as immigration increased, they became more numerous.

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, often called the "patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America," reached Philadelphia in 1742 and his influence soon spread throughout the colonies. It was through his efforts that the German Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania was founded in 1748.[24] The Muhlenberg family distinguished itself through several generations. Henry's son, Peter Muhlenberg, exchanged his clerical garb for military garb during the American Revolution serving with distinction as a Continental Colonel and later as a Brigadier-General. Peter also represented Pennsylvania three times as a member of the United State Congress. St. Luke's Hospital in New York was founded by a Muhlenberg of a later generation.[25]

Michael Schlatter was sent to America in 1746 with the rank of Missionary Superintendent to organize the Reformed Churches. He became pastor of churches in Philadelphia and Germantown and made extensive missionary journeys to

Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia.[26]

The number of German Catholics increased to such an extent that Father Joseph Greaton, S.J., in charge of the first Catholic Church in Philadelphia, requested his Provincial to send some German-speaking priests to this country. In 1741, the first German priests arrived in the English colonies. Father Theodore Schnieder, S.J., a Bavarian, "a man of much learning and great zeal, of great dexterity in business, of consummate prudence and undaunted magnanimity," was the pioneer among his countrymen in Pennsylvania. He organized a number of mission stations in eastern Pennsylvania counties and founded several parishes. Father William Wapeler, S.J. accompanied Father Schnieder in 1741 and was assigned to the Germans at the Catholic Mission Center in Pennsylvania, a few miles from Gettysburg.[27]

The principal port of entry for German immigrants before the Revolution was Philadelphia. Their location upon arrival shows them ~~to~~ be in possession of the best land for farming:

> ...They had cultivated the great limestone areas reaching from northeast to southwest, the most fertile lands in the colonies. The middle sections of Pennsylvania were in their possession, those which became the granary of the colonies in the coming Revolutionary War, and subsequently the foundation of the financial prosperity of the new nation. The Shenandoah and Mohawk Valleys were the rivals of the farm-lands of Pennsylvania. . .[28]

At the outbreak of the American Revolution, German immigrants in Pennsylvania totaled 110,000 out of a population of 225,000 or almost one-half of the colony's population.[29] German Americans played a leading role in the Revolutionary War.

> ...on the whole, the Germans were on the side of the Revolutionaries. There were very few Tories among them in Pennsylvania. . . It was quite natural that the Germans should be against the crown, for many of them had suffered in Europe at the hands of unscrupulous princes. As frontiersmen and farmers, who had carved homesteads out of the wilderness, they had developed a spirit of independence and they certainly felt no national sentiment that bound them to an English sovereign.[30]

On May 22, 1776, the Continental Congress authorized a German regiment consisting of four companies to be recruited from Pennsylvania. All officers and men were Germans or German descent. General George Washington's bodyguard was composed largely of Germans. Called Independent Troop of Horse, they began service in 1778 and remained during the War. Twelve of them accompanied him to him home in Washington.[31]

The colonies struggle for liberty attracted soldiers from foreign lands. Outstanding service was rendered by General Frederick William Steuben, a Prussian, and drillmaster of the American forces, who was appointed Inspector General of the Revolutionary Army by George Washington. He prepared a manual, REGULATIONS FOR THE ORDER AND DISCIPLINE of the TROOPS OF THE UNITED STATES, referred to as STEUBEN'S REGULATIONS or THE BLUE BOOK. This handbook provided guidelines for officers in the performance of their duties and established routine for the requisition and management of supplies. Steuben was honorably discharged on March 24, 1784.[32]

Among many patriotic Germans during the Revolution who have become part of American tradition is Molly Pitcher. Born Maria Ludwig, of German immigrants, on October 13, 1754 at Carlisle, she became a maid at age 15, to the family of Dr. William Irvine. Maria married John Casper Hays, a gunner in an artillery company who was later seriously wounded in battle. She went to nurse him back to health and then accompanied him in battle for seven years during which time she nursed the wounded and prepared meals for the soldiers.

On June 28, 1778, at the Battle of Monmouth, Maria supplied the soldiers with water, carrying it in a pitcher from a nearby well. She became known as "Molly Pitcher." After the Battle, Molly was complimented by Washington.[33]

On her monument at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, her name appears as "Mollie McCauley (renowned in history as Molly Pitcher, the Heroine of Monmouth)." McCauley is the name of Molly's second husband.[34]

Molly Pitcher is the subject of a painting by G.W. Park Curtis "The Field of Monmouth" and "a monument on the battle-field of Monmouth commemorates her in the act of ramming a cannon.[35]

The pioneer Germans in Pennsylvania were a hard-working, ambitious and religious people who earned the respect of other inhabitants.

> ...in their greatest trials the German pioneers were sustained by a profound religious consciousness. Through all their sufferings they held firmly to their ancient confessions. . . In the iron-bound chest of almost every German immigrant might have been found at least a Bible, a hymn book, and a Catechism. Before their churches were established they were especially careful to cultivate religion in the home and in the school. . .
>
> ...we accordingly find that wherever Germans were settled in sufficient numbers they proceeded to found a church and a parochial school.[36]

German immigration was very minor in the years between 1783 and 1820, but the 1830's reveal over 152,000 Germans entered our shores. Peak years in the nineteenth century were:

1854 — 215,000

1873 — 150,000

1882 — 250,000

After 1895, they never furnished in any one year more than one-tenth of the U.S. immigrants until the restriction of 1924 came into force.[37]

> Mass migration from Germany to the United States of America is therefore a phenomenon practically confined to the nineteenth century, and despite the heights reached in the early eighties, is essentially a mid-nineteenth century movement. . .It was in the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century that the Germans reached their most dominating numerical position, constituting fully thirty-five percent of them, and nearly one-third of all the Germans emigrating to the United States in the hundred years of the great European migration did so in these two decades between 1850 and 1869. . .Truly the Germans in the United States belong in every sense to the "old" migration.[38]

Nineteenth century Europe was a time of disturbed political conditions, including the downfall of Napoleon, the rise of Metternich and an era of censorship, suppression and espionage. "Special factors which gave stimulus to German emigration were the ecclesiastical disputes in Prussia in the early forties, resulting in a large emigration of "Old Lutherans," and the failures of the Wurttemberg vintages of 1850 to 1853."[39] The failures of the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 accounted for a group of German political exiles who wished to establish a German state in America. The "Kulturkampf" of Bismarck's reign led to a large Catholic immigration in 1873 and increased population and lack of employment in Germany accounted for a large exodus in 1882.

Concerning settlement by the Germans:

> Once in the United States, though there was a natural tendency to settle near each other, . . .it may generally be claimed that those parts of the United States which received Germans in large numbers received them from all parts of Germany. We do not have mainly Prussians in New York, mainly Bavarians in Wisconsin, mainly Rhinelanders in Missouri. . .[40]

In colonial times, the Germans settled in the Middle Colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, but a considerable number went to New York and North Carolina. After the Revolution, they tended to follow the extension of the American frontier. From 1830 to 1845, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Missouri, Indiana and Illinois received many Germans. St. Louis, Missouri, was a mecca for German immigrants in 1845. During the 1850's, Texas and Wisconsin proved popular as Milwaukee replaced St. Louis as the mecca. After 1865, Germans moved beyond the Missouri River and into Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and Oklahoma. In the 1880's and 1890's, because of the disappearance of the frontier and cheap land, the German immigrants tended to settle in large cities and those communities possessing a large German population, or containing relatives and friends.[41]

Reaction in Germany to 19th century political conditions led to a liberal movement among the intellectuals and youth in the universities who envisioned the eventual unification of Germany under a republican system that would establish freedom and political equality for all. When the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 failed, these intellectuals, representing "men of property and education, men of substance and social standing" emigrated to America where they hoped to establish a German state or "New Germany" in Texas, Missouri, Indiana and Wisconsin.[42]

According to John Hawgood, the aim of the German state was to keep the German element in its new environment racially and culturally distinct, geographically isolated and politically and economically independent of interference.[43] The strength of the New Germany lay in rural areas because the "German immigrant who settled in a city usually tended, even if he lived in a "German quarter" to become assimilated and Americanized much more quickly than the German who settled among his fellow-countrymen in an American rural area."[44] These attempts to establish a "New Germany" failed because ". . . of the realities of the frontier; German communities could not maintain their solidarity amid the complexities of American life."[45]

Karl Follen, a teacher of German at Harvard University, Francis Lieber, a distinguished scholar in American political science and associated with the first ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA, 1829-1833, Frederick Munch, philosopher, poet and journalist, who wrote voluminously for the German language papers under the name "Far West", and Gustave Koerner, were prominent pre 1848'ers in this country. Koerner, born in Frankfort in 1809, settled in Belleville, Illinois, studied law and eventually entered American politics. In 1845, he was elected Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court and in 1852 he was elected lieutenant-governor of Illinois.

That particular group of immigrants known as the "Forty-eighters" and the subject of books by Carl Wittke and A.E. Zucker, were like their predecessors mentioned above, men of idealism who fled to the United States to seek liberty, democracy and national unity. They came in significant numbers in the years 1850-1851. Well-educated, they represented the professions and were generally teachers, doctors, lawyers, journalists, artists and musicians. They came without families and baggage, their only possessions being books and papers. Although they could speak several languages, they did not know English. Their chief interest was ideas, not life on the frontier.[46] Because of their great book learning and knowledge of the classics, they were unfamiliar with farming and its implements and were usually referred to as "Latin Farmers."[47]

Sometimes, the Forty-Eighters are termed radicals. However

> The term "radical" did not fit the majority of the Forty-Eighters, for they represented all the political shadings of the German revolutionary movement. There were among them the German nationalist, who in place of thrity-six small fatherlands, aspired to one united Germany with a vigorous and popular emperor at its head. . . There was the German political humanist, who under a monarch or within the framework of a republic wanted above all political and personal liberty and freedom for individual development.[48]

Outstanding among the 48'ers was Carl Schurz, born March 2, 1829, at Liblar, a few miles from Bonn on the Rhine. The son of farmers who had a great respect for education, he studied Latin, music and art at an early age. His oratorical ability as a youth was phenomenal. After several years experience as editor for the German paper, Bonner Zeitung, founded by Gottfried Kinkel, Carl Schurz emigrated to America in 1852 at age 23. He studied law here, entered law practice in Milwaukee in 1858 and became active in the Republican Party. Subsequently, in 1861, he was appointed minister to Spain, in 1869, he became U.S. Senator from Missouri and in 1877, President Hayes appointed him Secretary of the Interior.[49]

Carl Schurz, horrified by the Spoils System in government, advocated a reform bill which eventually paved the way for the bill which established the Civil Service Commission in 1871. In 1881, he supported the founding of the National Civil Service Reform League and became its president in 1892.[50]

The 1848'ers as a group, because of their cultural and educational background, tended to criticize American culture and the earlier German immigrants whom they considered unlettered, stupid and uncultured as they were primarily from the peasant and artisan class.

> The Forty-Eighters deplored the low intellectual level of the Germans. . .who would rather pay for lager beer, wine, sausage, Swiss cheese and bread with caraway seeds than for newspapers.[51]

This antagonism between the Germans led to:

> . . .a serious split. . .between the "Grays" and the "Greens" which threatened to jeopardize the whole future of the German element. The better educated among the newcomers spoke disparaingly of German farmers and artisans, and the latter group, who with plow and axe and hard work had established themselves as men of prosperity and material success, replied bitterly to the attacks of the newcomers, who still "strangers" and "guests" in America had the temerity to question their intellectual and political capacities. The "Grays" readily admitted that they might lack book learning, but they had succeeded in the grim battle to gain a foothold in a new land.[52]

As a group, the Germans in America maintained a political passivity prior to the arrival of the Forty-Eighters. Politically inexperienced and disinterested in politics, Julius Froebel, a forty-eighter, berated them for their limited political vision beyond such issues as temperance and Sabbath laws.[53] The Germans were mostly members of the Democratic Party, the party traditionally considered friendly to the immigrants and, therefore, Irish and Germans flocked to it.[54] "As early as 1800, in Pennsylvania, the party had issued campaign literature in German urging the Germans to vote for Jefferson.[55]

> The average German immigrant ~~was content~~ to be left alone to work out his own destiny, to settle in sections of the country that topographically and climitically bore the greatest resemblance to his native region, to dwell. . .among his fellow countrymen, and retain some of his cherished old-country patterns of living. These Germans, who enjoyed a good reputation as skilled workers, tenacious settlers, and thrifty enterprising tradesmen. . .gave their votes to the "friendly party" and expected little more than the right to enjoy the fruits of their labor in their own way.[56]

The slavery issue and the identification of the Democratic Party as the pro-slavery party during the eighteen-fifties caused many Germans to switch their loyalites and become Republicans. The Republican Party was born "out of this turmoil over the Kansas-Nebraska Act and. . .there began a spirited campaign to win the German vote.[57] However, Carl Wittke notes that despite the efforts of Republicans to win the German vote, many German Catholics hesitated to switch their allegiance to the new party because they regarded the German Forty-Eighters as their bitter enemies and the Republicans as haters of foreigners. Despite the large numbers of Germans who voted for Lincoln in 1860, "the discussion over the decisiveness of the German and foreign-born vote in the election of Lincoln continues, but all agree that it was important, that Forty-Eighters produced a political revolt among large numbers of their countrymen. . ."[58]

"Recent investigations have made it clear that while many Germans voted for Abraham Lincoln in 1860, their vote was not as large nor as undividedly Republican as is usually believed."[59]

Although the forty-eighters played an important role in dispelling the political apathy of the Germans, other influences were also responsible, especially the Nativism movement and the rise of the Know-Nothing Party. Nativism was an

> . . .antiforeign protest movement recruited from the native Protestant population. . .primarily directed against the Catholic Irish immigrants who were arriving in droves in the forties and fifties. . . German Catholics, however, were also included by them as being a part of this irritating and clannish foreign element. Rioting and bloodshed ensued in Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. . .
>
> . . .Related to this aggressive movement were those secret societies which from about 1850 on comprised the Know-Nothing movement. This movement, which came out in the open as the American Party, gained rapidly in strength.[60]

Economic reasons accounted for the development of nativism, because native Americans resented the high taxes for the support of the indigents and they also feared that immigrants entering the labor market would deprive them of jobs. A deep-seated fear by American Protestants that the Republican Party was being threatened by the growing power of the Catholic Church by the large influx of Irish and German Catholics also accounted for Nativism.[61]

1854 marked the peak of the German immigration prior to the Civil War when 215,000 arrived here.[62]

Concerning German immigration to Luzerne County, "The original German settlement in the area was in Luzerne County near Conyngham. By 1809 there were enough German families to organize a Christian Congregation, a union of Lutheran and Reformed and various denominations."[63]

> . . .in the early 1800's Germans were also settling in the countryside of Northern Luzerne County, above Wilkes-Barre. By 1817, there is evidence of a significant settlement in that part of the country, and a request was made to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania for pastoral services. The Ministerium assigned three of its members from the Eastern area to preach at least once a year and provide other pastoral services to the Lutherans in Wilkes-Barre.[64]

By the 1830's, the German community of Wilkes-Barre was growing and tradesmen, craftsmen, butchers and bakers were joining the farmers already settled here. "The move of Germans into Wilkes-Barre was accompanied by more German immigration into Wyoming Valley via the now completed "Easton Turnpike. . . From the countryside, German settlers began to move into town. They brought along butchering skills learned on the farm, and brewmaster secrets from their homeland. As they had before, they brought along their schools and their religion as well."[65] (tape excerpt)

German Lutheran and Reformed Religious services commenced in 1840 in Wilkes-Barre with Reverend Berkey in charge. One hundred members were registered in 1844 and a plot of ground purchased at corner of South Main and South Streets. However, on December 5, 1845, the Lutherans separated from the Reformed to form their own congregation "German Evangelical Lutheran Saint Paulus Church" with Reverend Herman Eggers, pastor. They purchased a 95 foot lot north of South Street in 1846. Financial problems for the Reformed Church forced the sale of their building and land at South Main and South Streets at Sheriff sale which St. Paul's Lutheran Church purchased for $5,000 and used until fairly recently.[66]

Official Catholic Church history in Wyoming Valley:

> . . .began with the visit of Father John O'Flynn who came to Wilkes-Barre in 1828, and celebrated mass, heard confessions, baptized several persons and solemnized marriages. . .(at his death) . . . A Father Clancy was appointed to the vacant mission which then included all northeastern Pennsylvania, and a single visit to Wilkes-Barre is all that can be accounted for until May, 1837, when Father Henry Fitzsimmons, afterwards well known here, paid a visit to this place as one of his outmissions from Carbondale. He was young, zealous and energetic and attended this mission three, four, or six times a year until 1840, when he came bi-monthly, and continued to do so until 1842. Mass was usually said at the house of a Mrs. Marr or Maher, on the corner of Canal Street and the alley adjoining the old cemetery.[67]

The German and Irish Catholics worshipped together until 1856 when St. Nicholas German Catholic Church was organized with a few Catholic families. The Germans had Mass in the small wooden church on Canal Street, the original church. Fathers Schneider and Sommer cared for the German Catholics in 1856 and 1857 and the first resident pastor, Father Peter Conrad Nagel, a native of Westphalia, Germany, was assigned in 1858 by Bishop John N. Neumann, C.S.S.R.

> Bishop Neumann commissioned Father Nagel to shepherd the souls of the German Catholics in Wilkes-Barre, Scranton, and Honesdale, and to care for those more distantly distributed through Luzerne, Wayne and Pike Counties. With the exception of the priests in Williamsport and Bastress in Lycoming County, Father Nagel was at that time the only German priest in the present diocese of Scranton.
>
> His mission was made more difficult by the hardships of travel in that day. The only railroad in the territory ran from Wilkes-Barre through Kingston to Scranton. Travel to Honesdale and further in

that direction was by stage. The trip from Wilkes-Barre to Honesdale often lasted from morning to night.[68]

The growth of the German Catholic population by 1882 necessitated the erection of a larger church, the corner stone of which was laid on May 8, 1883 and the present Gothic church on South Washington Street completed in 1886.

As in the American Revolution, Germans served the Union well during the Civil War. When President Lincoln asked for volunteers, four thousand Germans from Pennsylvania responded to his call.[69] German leadership during the Civil War was significant as some five-hundred Germans with the rank of major, colonel or general served in the Union Army.[70]

Although German immigration remained heavy during the period 1870-1890, its character changed. Instead of peasants, more artisans and industrial workers came to America.

The New Reich, 1871-1890 which emerged in Germany after the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, with Bismarck as the leader, was the era of the "Kulturkempf" mentioned previously. It was "the spectacular attempt to subordinate the Roman Catholic Church to the new imperial government."[71]

> . . .Although this attempt was essentially a fight for power between the government and the Catholic Church, some contemporary journalists called it a struggle between two ways of life or two civilizations and hence gave it the name Kulturkampf (battle of cultures). [72]

It was the Kulturkampf and "May Laws" of 1873 which sent many religious orders of priests and nuns to America including the Sisters of Christian Charity who labor at St. Nicholas School and taught at St. Ann's Academy until its demise in June, 1971.

When Father Nagel learned that the Ministerium in Berlin forbade the Sisters to teach school in Germany, he applied to the Mother General of the Sisters of Christian Charity in Paderborn, Pauline von Mallinckrodt, for nuns to teach in his school. The nuns arrived in the fall of 1873 and the order still remains at the newly merged St. Nicholas-St. Mary's Elementary School.[73]

Mother Pauline arrived in Wilkes-Barre on the feast of St. Ann, July 26, 1873, and after an inspection of the city, decided to establish the Motherhouse in the United States on "territory measuring 600 ft. by 400 ft. in the eastern part of Wilkes-Barre, known as Park Hill." A contract was signed and ground broken for Mallinckrodt Convent in 1877 with three floord and a basement ready for occupancy in 1878.[74] Thus began St. Ann's Academy and in 1928 a new auditorium and gymnasium were completed. The Mother House for the Eastern Province was eventually relocated in Mendham, New Jersey, its headquarters yet in 1975. The Western Province remains in Wilmette, Illinois.

Until 1872, St. Paul's Lutheran Church was the only Lutheran Church in Wilkes-Barre and all its services were conducted in German. A request for English was received in 1870, but dismissed because English was "not proper to the dignity of religion."[75] However, in 1872 the English Ministerium of the English Lutheran Church sent Rev. F.F. Buermeyer of New York to Wilkes-Barre, and after a survey, a new parish, St. John Evangelical Lutheran Church, was established with Rev. Buermeyer, pastor. Members of the congregation were recruited from Germans newly arrived from Philadelphia and from St. Paul's families.[76] Formed Nov. 3, 1872, St. John's conducted services at Music Hall, located at the present site of Hotel Sterling and built a church in 1916 at the corner of South River and Academy Streets, Wilkes-Barre.[77&78] A mission congregation, Christ Lutheran Church, Washington and Beaumont Streets, was organized July 26, 1901.[79]

St. Paul's Lutheran Church, according to Church minutes of 1900, started using English in worship services, "for a few years now" indicating its use in the late 1890's. On November 2, 1931, German yielded to English for the chief services and the German language was discontinued for all services in 1948 marking the end of St. Paul's as a bi-lingual congregation.[80]

The German language press was one of the significant achievements of the Germans in America.

> If the period from 1850 to 1875 may properly be described as the Hellenic Age in German-American journalism, the closing decades of the nineteenth century were the years when many German-language publications experienced their greatest financial success. . .
>
> The period from 1875 to 1900 represented the era of prosperity for many German language papers, especially in the larger cities, as revealed by a study of their circulation lists, the number of publications and the income from advertising.[81]

German language newspapers have been more infleuntial and numerous than the press maintained by any other immigrant group in America. In 1930, the total number of German papers was 172, with the Italian press next with 126 papers.[82]

According to Carl Wittke the German language press informed a double role:

> As a matter of self-interest, as well as for deep emotional reasons, it is concerned with preserving the cultural ties of the immigrant with the land of his origin, promoting the activities of the group in its new home and keeping the mother tongue alive as long as possible.
>
> . . .When interest in the language begins to die out in the second generation, the foreign language press begins to die also.[83]

The press introduced the immigrant into a new environment by instructing him in the history, laws, customs and traditions of American society. The history of the press began with the New Yorker Staatszeitung which first appeared on December 24, 1834.

In 1842, the population of Wilkes-Barre was 3,000 people and "Germans were sufficiently numerous to support a German Newspaper, DER DEMOKRATISCHE WACHTER."[84] (The Democratic Watchman). The paper commenced publication in 1841 by J. Waelder the owner, and was sold to R. Baur who was still editing it in 1866.[85]

According to PENNSYLVANIA NEWSPAPERS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY and UNION LIST, edited by Ruth Salisburg and published in 1969, approximately ten German language newspapers were published at one time or another in Wilkes-Barre. Some, as ALLGEMEINE STAATS-ZEITUNG, were published for only one or two years, 1834-1835, or the Wilkes-Barre Journal, published in 1870 only. However, the WACHTER, noted above, a weekly, was published from 1841 till approximately 1931.[86]

Professor Hawgood attributed the growth and prosperity of the German-language press to the Nativism of the 1850's. He notes, that at the turn of the century, a stagnation set in as the children and grandchildren of the original settlers discontinued the family subscription to the local German newspaper.[87]

> For many years the German language press not only was the most numerous among the foreign-language papers of the United States, but the most ably edited and most widely read. . . the nineteenth-century German immigration was marked by a high rate of literary, and it included a remarkably high percentage of well-educated Germans who made excellent journalists and who had a large constituency eager to read what they wrote.[88]

The German Catholic Press was also strong during the time of heavy immigration. The AMERIKA (St. Louis) and WAHRHEITSFREUND), (Cincinnati) founded by Father John Martin Henni, later Bishop of Milwaukee, were both powerful newspapers. The latter title was the forerunner of a large number of Catholic papers established specifically for German Catholic immigrants.[89]

Another German contribution to American life was the Turner movement, Turnverein, founded by Friedrich Jahn, who in 1811, combined physical training with the inculcation of ideals of a free and self-respecting citizenship. On a field outside Berlin, young men received instruction from Jahn, affectionately known as Turnvater Jahn.[90]

The word Turner, from the old High German turnen, and Latin, tourner, refers to a tumbler or gymnast.

The purpose of the Turner was described as:

> Cultivation of rational training, both intellectual and physical, in order that the members may become energetic, patriotic citizens of the Republic, who could and would represent and protect common human liberty by word and deed.[91]

"To realize this aim gymnastic exercises were regularly held, a musical section was sponsored, and "mental gymnastics" were furthered by means of lectures and a library.[92] The first Turner society in America was founded in Cincinnati in October 1848 under the leadership of Friedrich Hecker.

The Turnverein also published a newspaper, "Turnerzeitung" to publicize its political ideas of a social-democratic nature. "The principal functions of the association were the social and gymnastic; the main fact about their politics was that they joined the Free-Soil party and united in opposition against nativism and Know nothingism."[93] (Klein Interview excerpt - Turnverein)

Singing societies for the promotion of chorus singing were a very popular facet of German American life. The Germans organized many singing groups, such as Liederkranz, Orpheus, Mannerchor, Harmonie, Concordia, which were influential in shaping the taste for vocal music in an entire city. The Philadelphia Mannerchor was the first singing society in the United States, founded December 5, 1835. Every city with a German population had its singing societies, the purposes of which were musical and social.

Wilkes-Barre had an outstanding Chorus, Concordia which was organized in 1879 when the defunct Mannerchor decided to organize a new society at a meeting in Landmesser Hall. Among the founders were Hon. John Reichard, F.J. Schwab, Peter Schappert and Valentine Kraft, first president. The aim of Concordia was "to encourage male choral singing, music apprecaition and provide social entertainment" for members. In 1889, the society grew to twenty-two members and formed a symphony orchestra and women's chorus. Membership was not restricted to Germans and through the support of prominent community men, such as Andrew H. McClintock, the American born citizen learned about German customs and became proficient in singing German songs and liked the Deutsche Gemuthlichkeit.[94]

Concordia participated in both local and national competition winning several awards. In 1893 at Brooklyn, it won first prize - a Wissner grand piano - in the second prize competition with the song "Johannisnacht am Rhine" (St. John's Night on the Rhine). As a result of this competition, Concordia was established as one of the foremost singing societies in the Northeastern Sangerbund.[95]

A Grand Silver Jubilee Concert was presented in 1905 at the local 9th Regiment Army in which all local German singing societies, the Mason Glee Club and the Welsh organization participated.

Concordia gained national recognition in July, 1906, when it earned the esteemed "Kaiserpries", or Kaiser prize, at the Sangerfeste Festival in Newark, New Jersey, with the song "Hans und Grete" by Lorenz. The "Kaiserpreis" is a silver statuette representing the Minnesinger, a medieval minstrel. Valued at $20,000, it remained in Wilkes-Barre three years locked in the vault at the First National Bank, (now First Eastern Bank). When the statuette was displayed, two soldiers stood guard.[96]

This performance by Wilkes-Barre Concordia, and its achievement of the "Kaiserpreis", is documented in Professor Faust's book, THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.[97]

Other outstanding events of Concordia included a Wagner Concert in 1913 with a 200 voice chorus, a full orchestra from Boston and guest soloists. During World War I, Concordia presented several concerts to raise money for the boys of the 9th Regiment. In 1926, it appeared in a concert in New York sponsored by the Associated Glee Clubs of America, and in 1927, it sang at Philadelphia's Academy of Music. Concordia presented a Golden Jubilee Concert in 1929 and also won first prize that year in a New York Concert. After 1929, Concordia entered a period of decline, but did give about two or three concerts a year. In 1937, a pop concert was alternated with a regular concert. In a period of 60 years, 1879-1939, Concordia had a repertoire of 408 songs.[98]

(tape excerpt - music and song)

> The German immigrant loved his beer and his beer gardens, his Sunday picnics and dances and theatrical performances. His many organizations devoted to music, art, drama, sharpshooting, bowling, cards, and turnen sought to cultivate the joys of life along with other more immediate objectives. Good beer and good food and good music went together, and Sundays were especially popular for picnics, and entertainments of every sort.[99]

The German "Continental Sunday" and the Puritan Sabbath were a source of contention between German immigrants and the native Americans.

Whitsuntide, or Pfingstfest was a popular German festival in late spring. All German societies observed it with picnics, outdoor amusements, singing, dancing, beer, long tables, wine, cheese, rye bread, sausages.[100]

Schutzenvereine, German sharpshooters, were popular after 1848 and annual Schutzenfest were held in which participants competed in shooting galleries for prizes.

In the present era, most of these special German observances have been discontinued or replaced with an annual "German Day" celebration when all the Germans of a community or a church enjoy an outing. St. Nicholas Parish holds a German Day in August each year, usually at a regional amusement park, e.g., Angela Park. Many family groups attend this annual picnic.

The Germans have given to America many charming Christmas customs. The Advent Wreath originated among the Lutheran population in Eastern Germany about the sixteenth century. The Christmas tree can be traced to the medieval German religious or "mystery plays" which were presented in churches from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries at which time they were discontinued because of certain abuses which crept into them. A popular play was the Paradise Play which depicted the Garden of Eden with a fir tree hung with apples and tiny white wafers representing the Eucharist. The tree was the center of attraction, and when the plays disappeared from the churches, the people did not wish to give up their "Paradise tree" so they started the custom of putting the trees up in their homes on December 24 when they celebrated the feast of Adam and Eve.

Santa Claus derived from the Catholic bishop St. Nicholas who was famous for his charity and good deeds especially among the poor. The Dutch observed the feast of St. Nicholas on December 6th at which time their children enjoyed an annual visit with presents of candy and fruit. When the Dutch came to America, they kept the figure of Sinter Klaas which eventually became Santa Claus.

Thomas Nast, a noted German-American cartoonist for Harper's, introduced pictures of Santa Claus in "Harper's Weekly." Another German-American, Louis Prang, introduced chromolithography into the United States - a process of painting in oil colors on canvas - textured paper and covering the design with a coat of varnish. Prang, a refugee of 1848, is responsible for the commercial Christmas card and, in 1862, the custom of sending them to friends and relatives became common. From 1856, Louis Prang produced cards at his lithograph shop in Boston.[101]

(tape excerpt - Christmas music and customs)

In 1855, societies of German Catholics formed the German Roman Catholic Central Union (Verein) at Baltimore. A union of Catholic benevolent societies, the aims of the Catholic Central Verein were:

1) to aid the German immigrant to withstand the attack of radical non-Catholic brethren in the U.S.

2) to safeguard the faith and rights of German Catholics from the Know-Nothing Movement

3) to sponsor a broad, social action program of spiritual perfection, charity, reform of society, credit unions, guilds, rights of workers and social studies workers.[102]

The Catholic Central Verein of America consisted of local units, made up of parish members, which formed a Federation of State Branches for the purpose of uniting for common action. The Pennsylvania State Branch of the Catholic Central Verein held annual conventions which convened in Wilkes-Barre in the years 1895, 1903, 1917, and 1931 at which time St. Nicholas School Auditorium was the scene.

The Catholic Women's Union of America comprised the women's branch of the Catholic Central Verein, fostering ideals of Christian womanhood and Catholic life in the home. Wilkes-Barre Branch organized with 86 members and, in 1931, grew to 350 members.[103]

With the decline in the Catholic Central Verein in the mid-twentieth century, the St. Nicholas Church Catholic Women's Union later became the Ladies Aid and in the nineteen-fifties, it was the "St. Nicholas Ladies Social Club" which became defunct during the early nineteen-sixties.

The culinary influences of the German-Americans have made many delicacies popular in the United States. Wieners, frankfurters, sauerkraut, Braunschwerger Leberwurst, sauerbraten, Lebkuchen, hot potato salad, dill pickles, pumpernickel, potato pancakes, lager beer, are just a few of the many foods introduced by the Germans. (tape excerpt)

The U.S. Census of 1910 reported 8,282,618 persons in the United States who listed Germany as the land of their origin. Two and a half million were born in Germany, nearly four million were born in this country of parents who had immigrated from Germany.

> Many of these Americans of German blood manifested some interest in their cultural heritage, but first and foremost, they were citizens of the United States. Here they had established their families, and, in many cases, achieved an economic and social status unattainable in Europe. The relentless forces of Americanization had been at work for several generations, and the isolation of the older German immigrant communities was breaking down. Had there been no World War, the German-American "hyphen" undoubtedly would have disappeared in a reasonably short time.[104]

The World War I Era, 1915-1924:

> . . .precipated a violent, hysterical concerted movement to eradicate everything German from American civilization. It was led by a minority of extremists, but a large part of the American population participated in the patriotic "drive against Teutonism."[105]

This feeling of distrust and "anti-foreign" movement created a distressful situation for the German American who wished to remain faithful to his heritage, yet strove to prove his loyality by renouncing many of his cherished traditions. It was during this period that the German language, the press, societies and other customs declined rapidly. Even in Wilkes-Barre, this anti-German sentiment persisted.

According to the WILKES-BARRE RECORD ALMANAC, 1919, the teaching of the German language in the Wilkes-Barre City Schools became a bone of contention when a number of local citizens requested the subject be eliminated from the curriculum. Some of the school directors, however, indicated that a knowledge of German would be beneficial for an understanding of German thought and culture as well as meeting college entrance requirements. The School Board voted to make the study of German optional, but citizen opposition was so strong, the language was finally dropped.[106]

Intellectuals were guilty of anti-German feelings. "The Universities of Wisconsin and Pittsburg revoked the honorary LL.D. which they had granted the German ambassador in 1901 and 1912 respectively."[107] The Cincinnati Public Library hid all the German books from the reading public and cancelled subscriptions to German-language newspapers. Orchestral societies resolved that orchestras would not play the compositions of living Germans. At Baldwin-Wallace College, a Methodist institution in Ohio, the students charged the president with pro-German sentiments for allowing "Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht" to be sung at Christmas time. They forced an investigation by petition and parades, which led to his removal.[108]

This hysteria against anything German even led to new names for certain foods. Hamburg steak became "liberty steak", sauerkraut became "liberty cabbage" and German fried potatoes were banned in New York restaurants. Even pinochle was changed to "Liberty."[109]

It is John Hawgood's thesis in THE TRAGEDY OF GERMAN-AMERICA that the hyphenated American, that is, the German-American, became a distinctive element during the 1850's with the rise of Nativism and persisted until the advent of World War I. He is of the opinion that during this period, the advent of World War I. He is of the opinion that during this period, the German-Americans resisted assimilation by attempting to preserve their culture through the use of the German language in the press, in church, and in the schools they established. They also observed the customs of the "Fatherland" in the church, home and school. With the "anti-foreign" movement during the War years, Hawgood concludes that the hyphenated American disappeared as the Americans of German descent strove to prove their loyalty to the United States.

Carl Wittke observed that:

> The World War revealed that the American people had not been completely fused by the process of amalgamation and Americanization into a homogeneous mass, strong enough to resist the reactions provided

> by a European War which involved so many of the racial and national groups resident in the United States.[110]

The Steuben Society of America was founded in 1919 for "the expressed purpose of thoroughly Americanizing whatever Germanism remained among the German-American element in the United States, so as to avoid a repetition of the atrocious anti-German feeling of the World War I years."[111] It is still in existence with headquarters in New York and publishes a monthly, Steuben News. The Society meets annually.

Between 1931 and 1940, 114,058 Germans entered the United States, the majority of whom emigrated to escape Nazi tyranny. In 1941, when World War II was declared on Germany, the German-Americans had little sympathy for Adolph Hitler and the Nazis. Hyphenated Americanism was a dead issue. 226,578 Germans immigrated to America during the years 1941 and 1950, including World War II refugees under the Displaced Persons Act. Although German immigration continued during the 1951-1970 period, it has dropped significantly and the assimilation process for these later Germans has been rapid. The Germanic culture has disappeared or has been homogenized.[112]

Numerically, the German Americans represent a strong ethnic group in the United States whose cultural influences have penetrated every segment of American life. Some of these contributions have been mentioned throughout the text: the Muhlenberg Family; Carl Schurz; the singing societies; Christmas customs; however, a few other significant achievements remain to be mentioned.

Edmund Gottlieb, born May 24, 1816 in Wurttemberg, thirty-one miles from Stuttgart, emigrated to the United States in 1825 when his father, a skilled metal craftsman, brought the family here to escape political oppression. After studying art, Leutze won several prizes for his paintings. His famous painting "Washington Crossing the Delaware" established his reputation as an artist. Owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and on exhibit in the Memorial Building at Washington Crossing State Park, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, the Metropolitan has said of it "Perhaps our best-known and best loved historical painting - long a primary attraction at the Museum."[113]

An outstanding cartoonist, Thomas Nast, born in 1840 in Bavaria, came to America with his family in 1846, where his father, a musician, became a member of the Philharmonic Society. As a cartoonist for Harper's Weekly during the Civil War period, Thomas Nast developed the craft of the political cartoonist and exerted a tremendous social and political influence. He is the creator of the elephant and ass as emblems of the Republican and Democratic Parties. Earlier his introduction of Santa Claus in a Harper's cartoon, was noted.

Charles Sealsfield, creator of the ethnographic novel, was born in 1793 in Poppitz, a German village in Moravia. Traveling widely in the Mississippi Valley region and Southwest, he published many books, essays and stories in Germany, Switzerland and America. Sealsfield "described various American types that existed between 1820 and 1840 . . .The early pioneer, the fearless frontiersman, the wealthy southern planter, the desperate outlaw, and the weather-beaten sea captain are presented in vivid colors in his novels."[114] In Robert E. Spiller's LITERARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, "Charles Sealsfield," "C. Seatsfield," and "C. Sidons" were all Karl Anton Postl, a runaway monk from a Bohemian monastery. According to

Spiller, Charles Sealsfield was the first important German-American writer to devote himself to fiction. His first novel TOKEAH, OR THE WHITE ROSE, published in 1829 details the struggle between the white man and the red man was a prototype of the genre - "ethnographic" novel, where the hero is a whole people.[115] Sealsfield influenced American writers, especially Longfellow who "spent entire evenings reading his "favorite Sealsfield" while Helen Hunt Jackson's RAMONA shows a striking resemblance to TOKEAH.[116]

A distinguished scientist, Charles Steinmetz fled from Germany during Bismarck's regime arriving in America in 1889. After several years employment in an engineering plant in Yonkers, he became associated with the General Electric Company in 1893 where he became known as the "Wizard of G.E.." During his years at G.E., Steinmetz patented over two hundred inventions. He proved that electricity could be transmitted over long distance if alternating current, not direct current, was used.[117]

Another great German-American scientist was the engineer, John A. Robling who invented the modern suspension bridge, building the Niagara River Railroad suspension bridge, 1851-1855, an engineering feat of the nineteenth century.

Many commonly used words and phrases in our daily vocabulary are of German origin according to H.L. Mencken in THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE; THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH IN THE UNITED STATES. A Few of these words include sauerkraut, sauerbraten, delicatessan, noodles, wie geht's, gesundheit, yodel, auf wiedersehen.[118]

The intellectual influences of German education upon American education, from kindergarten through university, have been vast. The kindergarten, a German institution, was first established in Germany by Friedrich Frobel. The first kindergarten in America was founded by Margaretha Meyer Schurz, wife of Carl Schurz, in Watertown, Wisconsin, 1855 while others soon followed, notably, Columbus, Ohio, 1858 and Boston, 1859. Johns Hopkins University, founded in 1876, recognized the spirit of research characteristic of the German university, and proceeded to adopt this method. "The most beautiful expression of gratitude by an American university was made at the Fiftieth Convocation of the University of Chicago, on the occasion of the "Recognition of the Indebtedness of American Universities to the Ideals of German Scholarship," March 22, 1904."[119]

Vocational training received its greatest impetus from German tradition and physical education, stressed by the Turnverein, mentioned earlier, became a prominent feature of the American curriculum.

American educators, besides adopting German pedagogical methods, often studied at German universities. German Ticknor and Edward Everett started this movement when they went to Germany from 1815-1817. This movement extended to about 1850 during which period many young American students matriculated at German institutions. Some of these scholars included William Emerson, H.W. Longfellow, George Bancroft.[120]

Perhaps the greatest contributions of the German American have been, not just the tangible accomplishments, but the intangibles as character and virtue. They "have furnished an example of the humbler virtues which constitute the backbone of good citizenship, such as respect for the law, honesty and promptness in the discharge of business obligations, dogged persistence, industry, and economy."[121]

Henry August Pochmann provides an extensive survey and "evaluation of the impact of German philosophy, education, religion and literature upon American culture" in his excellent work GERMAN CULTURE IN AMERICA, PHILOSOPHICAL and LITERARY INFLUENCES, 1600-1900, published in 1961 by the University of Wisconsin Press. This scholarly title includes three hundred pages of bibliographical notes appended to the text.

Current and historical information on German Americans is available from several organizations as cited in the ENCYCOLPEDIA OF ORGANIZATIONS, 1975. The Steuben Society of America, referred to previously, The National Carl Schurz Association, founded 1930 with headquarters in Philadelphia, publisher of the periodical Rundschau, and the German Society of Pennsylvania, also located in Philadelphia, are just three such societies. The German Society of Philadelphia maintains a library of 50,000 volumes, of which 85 percent are in German, for research.

This brief survey, or overview, of the German ethnic group in America, has, I hope, enlightened and developed your awareness of cultural identity and the implications of cultural pluralism. The study of the unique history and contribution of the Germans in America and other ethnic groups, can contribute significantly to the education of young Americans.

FOOTNOTES

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25. Huebener, Op. Cit., p. 46.

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27. Pekari, Op. Cit., pp. 318-319.

28. Faust, Op. Cit., v. 1, p. 265.

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30. Huebener, Op. Cit., p. 43.

31. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

32. Ibid., pp. 51-53.

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Blacks in the Ethnic Maze

by
Barbara Dudley

I. African and Black Slavery Background

To understand the bitterness of Blacks at having been herded to America as slaves, beginning in the 1600's, one should be enlightened about the culture they left behind. Africa is a vast continent, more than three times the size of the United States. It is divided by the equator, so that the continent is located in both the Southern and Northern Hemispheres. Several islands - including huge Madagascar, lie off the mainland of Africa.

Africa has been stereotyped as Tarzan's and Jane's paradise; with masses of jungle land of tangled bushes and twisted vines. Actually only a small portion of central Africa is jungle land or other tropical forest. The remainder of the continent is mostly desert and grassland. The various land regions are distributed over a high, fairly level land mass called a plateau. The largest desert in the world - the Sahara, is in the northern plateau of Africa. The desert lands of Africa are barren and dried by the penetrating sun rays. A few green oases exist on the deserts where date palms and cereals grow. Near the equator are the African rain forests covered with fruit, palm, and hardwood trees.

Between these two opponents - desert and rain forest - are savannas; grassland impregnated with shrubs and stubby grass. However, neared the rain forests, grow elephant grant. Grass so tall it can hide an animal or person.

Africa is a land of opposites, such as the Atlas Mountains in the Northwest of Africa bathing in the tropic sun and Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya in the last Central highlands close to the equator, yet capped with now all year round.

Archeologists have found skulls which show that the human race many have begun in Africa millions of years ago. Stone Age rock paintings and tools have also been found. About 3,000 B.C. the first known highly developed civilization began in the Egyptian Nile Valley. Soon weakened by the Greek and Phoenician invaders, Egypt was conquered in 725 B.C. by a Negro civilization on the Nile River south of Egypt, called Kushites. They built the oldest and greatest civilization of black Africa. It lasted a 1000 years. Invaders of Africa first were only interested in gold, ivory and spices. Around the 1600, as American colonies grew, and the need for cheap or free labor, prisoners and misfits shipped to America from England, were not enough to do the work. The black slave trade became profitable up until about the 1800's. By then millions of black Africans had been captured and taken to foreign soil to live lives of torture and toil.

As Black journalist and author (The Autobiography of Malcolm X) Alex Haley, cried when he finally located his ancestors in Africa after seven years of research and luck, "If you really knew the odyssey of us millions, if you really knew how we came in the seeds of our forefathers, captured, driven, beaten, inspected, bought, branded, chained in foul ships, if you really knew, you needed weeping. . . " Mr. Haley's findings have been published in a book entitled Roots, published by Doubleday.

II. The 19th Century Mood In Wyoming Valley

At the dawn of the nineteenth century Napoleon, self declared first Consul of France was at the peak of his career reaping victory upon victory. The dirt was not yet settled on George Washington's grave. Federalist, John Adams was president, and anti-Federalist Thomas Jefferson was vice president.

It was a period of top hats, queues, and powdered hair. Trousers fastened with pegs were the top of fashion. A twelve hour work day brought a laborer two skillings. Virginia contained a fifth of the population.

Luzerne County had a population of thirteen hundred. It then consisted of Wyoming, Bradford, Lackawanna and Susquehanna counties. Wilkes-Barre had the only post office. Although the mail-carried by a man on foot-only came in once a week from one direction and twice a month from two directions.

In 1807 the coal trade opened in Susquehanna bringing about more jobs and more people moving into the area for those jobs. The following year, Jesse Fell successfully burned anthracite coal in a grate. The first brick building was erected in Wilkes-Barre that same year. Also, the incorporation of the Wilkes-Barre Academy made Wilkes-Barre the educational center of Southern New York and Eastern Pennsylvania. The first bank opened in 1810. The Old Ship Zion church was finished. Five Wilkes-Barre companies went to Baltimore's defense, because of British threats.

At a cost of $44,000 the first bridge was built over the Susquehanna in 1818. A 1824 hurricane lifted the bridge from the piers. A fire engine called the "Neptune" was bought by the borough council in 1818. The foundation for our common school system was laid in 1834. Wyoming Seminary opened in 1844. The Lehigh Valley railroad opened in 1855.

In 1846, about half the men in the Valley went to war with the United States forces against Mexico. The first daily paper was published in Wilkes-Barre in 1852. The Wilkes-Barre Library Association was organized in 1850.

Fire destroyed the east side of Public Square in 1859. Fire also burned the north side of the Square from Luzerne House to Cahoon's hall.

In 1862 the 143rd Regiment was organized with Colonel E.L. Dana and Mayor George E. Hoyt. In 1862 desperadoes called the Molly Maquires were discovered in the coal mining regions. Through terror, they hoped to control corporations and local politics. Then Lee invaded Pennsylvania and Governor Curtin called for 50,000 men. Also in 1862, water travel on the Lehigh was ruined by a flood. West Market Street suffered a mass fire in 1867. The great flood occurred in 1865.

In 1869, an event called the Avondale disaster occurred causing the deaths of one hundred and eight men and boys. 1874 was the year of the women's temperance movement. Wilkes-Barre Hospital was opened in 1872. From 1861 to 1877 events occurred which led to the great strike. The inflation of currency, caused a boom in business which lead to reckless spending. Following this time was a reaction. To keep prices of labor up to war-time rates, miners went on strike and committed such violent acts that the United States troops had to be brought in. In 1888 the electric road came to the valley. The Osterhout Free Library opened in 1889. A tornado swept the valley in 1890. The first charter was obtained in 1794, when the first Masonic Lodge was organized.

The close of the 1800's found Wilkes-Barre on a long way from their 1844 sheep herding days, but still with yards of progressive yarn to be woven into their way of life.

III. Freedom and the Local Black and National Leaders

Paul Laurence Dunbar spoke for many Blacks, when he wrote the poem Sympathy:

"I know what the caged bird feels, alas!
When the sun is bright on the upland slopes
When the wind stirs soft through the springing grass,
And the river flows like a stream of glass;
When the first bird sings and the first bird opens,
And the faint perfume from its chalice steals --
I know what the caged bird feels!

I know why the caged bird beats his wing
Till its blood is red on the cruel bars;
For he must fly back to his perch and cling
When he fair would be on the bough a-swing;
And a pain still throbs in the old, old scars
And they pulse again with a keener sting -
I know why he beats his wing!

I know why the caged bird sings, ah me,
When his wing is bruised and his bosom sore,
When he beats his bar and would be free;
It is not a carol of joy or glee,
But a prayer that he sends from his
heart's deep core,
But a plea, that upward to Heaven, he flings,
I know why the caged bird sings!

After long, devastating years of slavery, poverty, degradation and being silently ostracized, according to James Chester; a Black with the air pollution control division of the State Department of Health, 45.5% of Wilkes-Barre's 1,200 Blacks still earn less than $3,000.00 per year. They are still facing prejudice in housing situations, in schools. They are still "baking the bread and being thrown the crust."

Yet the local Black population has managed to maintain a commendable and promising foothold in the Valley.

According to the first official census of the United States in 1790, there were 4,904 people, including eleven slaves credited to Luzerne County.

Three of these slaves belonged to John Hollenback (Note: Dr. James Edward Mason, secretary and lecturer from Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C., a Black, credited a John W. Hollenback with encouraging him to further his education. A Wilkes-Barre native, Mason was born on Rolling Mill Hill. In his earlier days, he worked at Groy's Mine in the Heights section, as a mule driver. He also attended Wilkes-Barre High School and Lincoln University.) two each to William Houck and James Westbrook; and one each to Stephen Hopkins, Adams Man, Guy Maxwell and Jonathan Newman. As late as 1796, slaves were still being held in Luzerne County.

Many people in prestigious positions strongly opposed slavery. However, equally firm in their approval of slavery were people such as the ones who tarred and feathered William C. Gildersleeve, in what has become known as the Gildersleeve Episode. In 1821, Mr. Gildersleeve, a white man, came to Wilkes-Barre and engaged as a merchant in a building on the north side of Northampton Street, not far from its intersection with River Street.

Born in Georgia, the son of a slave owner, he had seen people on the auction block in front of the Church, where his father preached. He had gained his impressions of traffic in human chattels first hand; his father was a slave owner. He strongly opposed slavery. As a young man he migrated north, settling in New Jersey, then came to Wilkes-Barre. Mr. Gildersleeve's store buildings soon became stations on one of the mysterious underground railroads which led slaves to Canada and freedom.

Mary C. Sayre notes, in A Bit of History of the Gildersleeve Family, "People opposed to my father on account of his Abolition views. He had seen slavery in Georgia, in some of its worst forms and our house was a house of refuge for run away slaves. One slave was employed by Mr. Harvey of Kingston. He was sent to Mr. Sintons store, while doing errands, several men entered, among them his master. He was seized, bound, and handcuffed. Blood flowed freely from his mouth. He was thrown on the floor of a lumber wagon as thought he were a dead dog. This was all done so quickly that there was no time to send for help. Someone rushed in to tell us about it while we were having dinner. We felt sick about it.

However, under the Fugitive Slave law, no one could stop a slave holder from doing with his slave as he saw fit.

. . . a slave was employed as a waiter in Gilgrists Hotel (where the Valley House now stands) four men entered and called for dinner .

The master of the fugitive slave was among them disguised as a miller. While he was carving the meat, two of the men sprang at him with hand cuffs, managing to get them on one hand. He got away after losing a lot of blood. Running swiftly he jumped in the river. After his pursuers - now tired, turned away, he crawled to the shore and pretended to be dead. Deciding that a dead slave was of no use to them, they left him. He hid in a cornfield. When it was dark, with the help of friends he fled to safety.

Once on a pilgrimage along the line of stations of the Underground Railroad, we stopped on the Canadian side and one of the waiters at our table was a fugitive slave who had been at our house. We received royal treatment.

One of the slaves was hidden in the Baltimore Coal Mine three weeks. A painter in Wilkes-Barre, was a friend of my father, and carried food and water to him every day. The slaves master, who was in Wilkes-Barre, valued the slave as being worth a large sum of money and not wanting to give him up, decided if he waited long enough he could find him. Soon he grew tired and left. The slave was sent to Montose. Rev. Albert, Judge Jessup and a number of other influential men were against slavery, so it would have been hard to catch him there.

Charged with having spirited a slave away, my father was summoned to Philadelphia. In open court, he pleaded guilty of helping run away slaves get to Canada. Said he "I felt I was obeying a higher law even than my country's." He was released.

Many were feeling so bitter towards him, that a group of Quakers had to escort him back and fro, from the Court House.

On one particular occasion, Mr. Gildersleeve brought abolitionist speaker, Mr. Burleigh of Boston, to Wilkes-Barre to speak. An angry mob pursued him. It was with the aid of Judge Dana, who shared anti-slavery views, that he fled to the Phoenix Hotel. Deceived, the mob vested its spleen upon my father, tarred and feathered him and rode him on a rail to him home on North Franklin Street. Only my presence prevented further violence."

With the assistance of such courageous men as Gilersleeve, the black population grew in Luzerne County. The 1940 census revealed only 1,200 Blacks settled in the county. Two Black churches were listed - the Mount Zion Baptist and the African Methodist Episcopal.

In 1842, the scattered remained of a colored congregation, were collected by the Rev. Thomas Jackson. It was revived in 1845 by Rev. Philip Lumb, and the Rev. Peter Fulmer. The Church was named the Zion Church of the colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church was the fourth church to be erected on the site where Richard Allen and Absalom Jones founded the Free African Society in 1787. This later became the AME, one of the largest Negro religious denominations in the United States.

Allen, the first Negro bishop, was born a slave. He later, became a circuit riding minister after his freedom. He and James Forten in 1814, organized 2,500 freed slaves to defend Philadelphia against the British. Sixteen years later, he formed the first Negro convention in Philadelphia, which was instrumental in encouraging abolitionist activities. In 1831, Allen died and was buried in a basement vault at the Mother Bethel AME Church in Philadelphia.

In 1842, the scattered remains of a colored congregation, were collected by the Rev. Thomas Jackson. It was revived in 1845 by Rev. Philip Lumb and the Rev. Peter Fulmer. The church was named the Zion Church of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Connection. The Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Congregation in Wilkes-Barre, was organized by Rev. Thomas Ward in 1848. There was also a colored church at Waverly with 35 members.

As for Forten, who aided Allen in establishing the Bethel AME Church, he was born free in 1766, and served during the Revolutionary War above a Philadelphia privateer. He signed a petition in 1800 requesting Congress to alter the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793. Using Bethel as his headquarters, Forten protested ideas for slaves returning to Africa to colonize. He also provided funds to sponsor William Lloyd Garrison's The Liberator.

A Negro Soldiers Monument was erected by Pennsylvania in 1934 to pay tribute to fallen Negro soldiers like Forten. Negroes had also been among those who endured the winter weather at Valley Forge with George Washington's Continental Army in 1777.

Following the 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, - the franchise of citizenship was conferred upon the negro - Wyoming Valley negroes celebrated April 26, 1870. The celebration commenced with religious services, later followed by a parade through the streets of Wilkes-Barre with representatives of negro societies from Scranton and surrounding areas supplementing the ranks of local marchers. Floats depicting high points in negro history were featured in the parade.

The event concluded with a court house meeting featuring Hon. H.B. Wright as the speaker.

Early records indicate that Wilkes-Barre first public school was for Negro children. White pupils who afforded the expense, attended private schools.

Mrs. Summer Dennis, Mrs. Thaddeus Smith and Mrs. Mary Thompson Griffen were the first three negroes to receive diplomas from Wilkes-Barre High School. Mrs. Griffen received her diploma in 1896.

Negro families whose descendants have been here many years were Lyles, Williams, Smith, Thompson, Generals, Ramsey, Phoenix, Miller, White, Logan, Cheeseman, Robinson.

Business and street directory records over the last hundred years, show addresses of several hundred Black barbers, shoemakers, plumbers, store keepers, tailors, hotel keepers, physicans and various other trades and professions. One of the city's busiest grocery stores at the turn of the century was operated by Aaron Morris, at North Main Street. Mr. Morris was father of Olin Morris, a prominent Black jeweler in the Blue Cross Building.

Only two Black doctors then resided in Wilkes-Barre; Dr. J. M. Littlepage and Dr. Morton W. Groves. The first Black Pennsylvania State trooper was John R. Dudley. Miss Ethel Patterson was gaining attention in the field of art with Craftsmen Engravers. The Dennis sisters were three of the only four Black teachers then in the county. The fourth was Miss Priscilla McDonald.

George B. Kulps, "Families of the Wyoming Valley", states that in earlier times there were three colored school teachers here. The Hon. J.J. Wright, who studied law in Montrose, and who later became a Supreme Court Judge in South Carolina. George W. Mitchell, who became a professor of Latin and Greek in Howard University, and John H. Smythe, who was appointed minister to Liberia.

The Unusual sculptor of a black West Pittston native, C. Edgar Patience, brought world acclaim not only to blacks but to all residents of Wyoming Valley, where he later made his home.

An anthracite coal sculptor, Mr. Patience learned the art of coal sculpture from his father, who worked at the craft for over 80 years. As a boy he whittled objects out of coal, while working as a breaker boy in the coal mines. Later, he produced merchandise for the souvenir market. Discontented, he believed that the real beauty of coal was not revealed in small objects he designed for those merely wanting tokens of their visit to Pennsylvania.

A Wilkes-Barre resident since 1948, Mr. Patience's reputation as a coal sculptor grew. Recommended to tourists by the Chamber of Commerce, he was commissioned to do all types of sculpture.

He gained international fame for his works owned by Queen Juliona of the Netherlands, the Prime Minister of Barbados, the wives of two United States presidents, many state governors, legislators and Hollywood celebrities.

Also among his works is a Hoover Vacuum Cleaner replica, housed in Canton, Ohio, archives of the Hoover Company, and the famous Mack Bull dog, trade mark of the Mack trucks which is in the trophy room at the executive offices in Allentown.

Mr. Patience also created a 4,000 pound coal altar in the chapel at King's College, and a monolith in the Pennsylvania Museum in Harrisburg. His works were on display at the Fine Arts Fiesta on Public Square the beginning of that yearly event. Mr. Patience maintained his studio at 82 Loomis Street where he resided with his wife Alice.

He appeared in Ebony magazine which called him "America's Most Unusual Sculptor." In 1970, he was listed in Who's Who. The Weekly Reader, a public school book for fifth graders, contained two chapters depicting his work. Featured articles appeared in the Philadelphia Inquirer and The New York Times.

In addition to his artistic endeavors, he was past president of the Showcase Theater in Wilkes-Barre, he served on its board of directors. He was also an officer of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania F & AM and served as the Masonic regional deputy governor for ten years in Eastern Pennsylvania. He was also a past worshipful master of the Golden Rule Lodge 15, F & AM, Wilkes-Barre.

C. Edgar Patience, died in Wilkes-Barre General Hospital, following an exhibition tour of the state and was stricken ill in the J.J. Horn Department Store in Pittsburgh.

In January of 1936, the Negro Legion Post was given its charter from the American Legion. Consisting of 22 members, it was named Patterson Post, in honor of Samuel J. Patterson, a veteran of the Civil War. He was one of the region's first Blacks to enlist in the Union Army in 1864. After the war, Mr. Patterson located in Wilkes-Barre. He worked with the group which erected the first trolley wires in Wyoming Valley. He later worked with B. G. Carpenter Company for about 20 years.

Dating back to 1778 when Gershom Price and John Quxoco fought in the Battle of Wyoming, Blacks have long served in the fight for justice. Perhaps they felt national justice would birth racial justice. Yet this justice impregnated nation still - after suffering the turmoil of ignorance and prejudice labor pains, often delivers a dis-membered babe of equality for all.

Like Blacks every where, modern day Blacks of Wyoming Valley were daily saturated with large doses of "power now" - from Malcolm X and "pray now" from Martin L. King. Black Power advocate, Malcolm X, stated in his "Message to The Grass Roots" So we're all black people, so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, ex-slaves. You're nothing but an ex-slave. You don't like to be told that, but what else are you? . . . You didn't come here on the "Mayflower." You came here on a slave ship. In chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken . . . the so-called Pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. They were the ones who brought you here.

It's just like when you've got some coffee that's too black, which means it's too strong. What do you do? You intergrate it with cream, you make it weak. If you pour too much cream in it, you won't even know you ever had coffee. . . . It used to be strong, it becomes weak. It used to wake you up, now it puts you to sleep. This is what they did with the march on Washington.

The late revoluntionary leader was assassinated. He died with feelings of bitterness towards whites and Blacks who refused to bleed for their freedom. He attacked the tactics of leaders, Martin L. King, A. Phillip Randolph, and James Farmer.

And then there was Dr. Martin L. King with the opposite solution to the racial crisis. Residents (Blacks) in Wilkes-Barre, like Blacks all over the nation were hypnotized by his "dream" and proposal of equality obtained peacefully.

Montgomery, the city in which Dr. King first served as pastor, was best known in 1955, as the "Capital of the Confederacy" - the symbol of the South of the Civil War. Only fate could have had it that a highly educated young minister was brought into the mainstream of the fight for human rights of American blacks by Rosa Parks, a tired Black seamstress, who took a seat near the front of a bus in highly segregated Montgomery. She refused to move, when the driver ordered her to make room for a white man. She was arrested. Ironically, this lady, who lit the match that set the fires of freedom blazing across the nation, was putting her personal beliefs into action; she was once secretary of the local NAACP.

Actually the bulk of black protest had begun after World War II when thousands of black veterans returned home to indignities they fought they had conquered with their fighting. Fed up they boycotted the busses. Dr. King was asked to lead the march which lasted 382 days. When the bus company finally met the protesters demands, young King became known nation wide.

King, suffered for his beliefs by being harassed, beaten, and jailed. He forged a weapon against oppression that white Americans found difficult to combat. His philosophy was nonviolence.

He believed that all protest should be nonviolent and that protesters should bear the violence trust upon them. He became the spiritual, moral and political leader of millions of black Americans as the SCLC won victory after victory over segregation.

Said Dr. King, historians will one day say, "There lived a great people - a black people - who injected a new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization."

March after march - with Dr. King at the lead - torn down the barbed wire of racial injustice. There were protest marches in Chicago, in Mississippi, in Detroit, there was the 1963 March on Washington with 250,000 blacks and whites crying out against discrimination. There was the historic march from Selma to Montgomery. Jobs opened to blacks, voter registration, segregated facilities opened, schools desegregated, civil rights, laws passed by Congress and signed by Pres. L.B. Johnson. In 1964 King became the youngest man ever to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Dr. King started his career of protest backing a black seamstress who had the courage to stand up for her rights. In his last fight he supported garbage collectors who protested their poor wages, prejudice and poor working conditions. The garbage collectors did march - in silent memorial the day after his burial. Shot down in Memphis, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. born January 15, 1929, died April 4, 1968.

His death set off the one thing he had disliked most - violence. Ghetto residents from coast-to-coast killed and burned in sorrow and anger.

His death marked the end of an era.

Young black leaders began to preach self-sufficiency for blacks. They argued not for integration but for a fair share of the economy for Blacks. Now, older Blacks seem to have forgotten him; younger Blacks hail more for the policy of Malcolm X or similar believers.

And yet, between the violent and the non violent is a new breed. Even young Blacks in the Wilkes-Barre area do not seem to be aware of racial strifes as such, but more apt to consider racial difficulties as an offense against them as human beings. Interracial relations have often produced children who are neither, black or white, yet are enbittered by racial cruelities.

Being Black, being young, I sincerely feel that you can't really force people to love each other regardless of race, creed or color. It has to be a willing inner change.

With present world conditions in such devastating shape, this may well be the last generation with a chance to change things.

# # # # #

Old Pro-Slavery Times

(Written during the Van Buren Administration)

How an abolitionist was mobbed and ridden on a rail by the boys of 1839 - The Mug Club. (Wilkes-Barre).

The Mug Club was a local organization made up of the boys and young men of the day, it being their sole object to extract all the fun they could from the ordinarily quiet times in which they lived. Mr. Gildersleeve, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose, but fought for more than a score of years, never relaxing in his efforts until he had lived to witness the complete abolition of slavery in the United States.

Wilkes-Barre, April 12, 1839

Dear _____________:

The Valley of Wyoming has been excited by an abolitionist who came here a few weeks since and attempted to lecture in the Court House. He was escorted by Camp Gildersleeve, Mrs. Brower, Mrs. Babb and a few other women. He had not commenced before the room was crammed and jammed full of those who were not disposed to hear him. As a result he was forced to leave the Court House amid the shouts and hisses of the crowd of which the greater part followed up to Camp's house. The lecture was to commence in the morning at 9 o'clock. They dispersed about 11. The president called a meeting of the "Mug Club" who resolved.

"That in the days of the revolution law and order gave way for justice

"That in this case, a few individuals tried to introduce doctrines that were in themselves nothing more or less than treason, and as law would not take hold of them, that justice demands that some measures should be taken to put a stop to proceedings where they were, therefore,

"Resolved, that the president and all Mugletonians should repair to Camp's house and not desist until they each and every one of them were satisfied that proceedings were ended."

(The abolitionist referred to was a man by the name of Birney)

The result was that Camp's house was broken open, the lecture brought out, and marched out of town. He went down to Dona's. The next morning he came up with Camp and his wife. The Mug again assembled, went up, pulled him out, took him down to the Phoenix Hotel and locked him up in a room by himself. He promised to leave in the morning, Camp came down to see him. The boys soon had a rail on the pavement and he was informed by old Bully that his horse was ready and a procession was formed with old - at the head, with the drum and fife playing alternately the Rogue's March and Sitting on a Rail. "Old Pres" had one end on his shoulder. They carried him up to the corner of Market and Franklin and let him down.

Well, Camp commenced suit and 24 of the boys were indicted. They all went before the court and gave themselves up. They excitement was tremendous. The judge was treatened. A wooden horse was brought out before the court house with a harness on, and a tail. The court went in. The judge and the prosecuting attorney thought

thought proper to let the matter drop; it is darned well for them that they did. So you see abolition is no go in Wilkes-Barre."

A Black Hero of Wyoming

"Following is the essay on Gershom Prince, read on Tuesday evening, at the anniversary of the emancipation proclamation, the writer being Miss Agnes Tucker.

From the earliest pages of history to the present time the negro has formed a most important part, not only in the history of America but in foreign countries as well. We have handed down to us scores of white heroes but here and there a negro hero shines out like fertile spots in the great desert. Such an one was Gershom Prince. He was probably born in Connecticut or Rhode Island in 1733, and at the early age of 22, under Captain Isreal Putnam, he accompanied Lieut. Durkee in the battle against the French and Indians. He joined in the engagement with a heroism worthy of a Bonaparte or Alexander the Great, and like Washington, who was the same age as Prince at the starting point, feared nothing. Still following Putnam we heard of him next in the war of England and Spain in 1762. He belonged to the Connecticut regiment, and still further on in the great fight for America's freedom he joined Col. Christopher Green's regiment from Rhode Island. Thus we see the negro has played a part in the two struggles for freedom, the Revolutionary war, and lastly the Civil War. In 1777, Prince, now in the famous Black Regiment repelled the first onset of the British and compelled them to retreat. Soon after this battle, we again hear of Prince with Captain Durkee in New Jersey, as a soldier in the 1st Independent Co. from Wyoming. When the news arrived of the approach of Tories and Indians to Wyoming, Prince hastened with the rest to protect the wives and children of the settlers. With this brave struggle, which was the last, ended the life of as noble and true a soul as we have any knowledge of. From his lifeless body was taken a powder horn, on which was inscribed "Prince, negro, his horn," which is now in the cabinet of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Peace to the ashes of Gershom Prince."

The Record - Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; May, 1938

"Underground Railway"

Memories of slave trafficking in the early years of the Civil War were recalled here by Mrs. Essbella Brown, 102-year-old colored resident who lives with her 80 year-old daughter, Frances, at 32 Cinderella Street, city.

Mrs. Brown, who was born in the old stone house of Capt. Riley in Newtown, November 15, 1836, said that although she was not a slave, her father used to hide smuggled slaves in the cellar of their home on Northampton Street, between Welles and Lincoln.

She said her father used to go from Wilkes-Barre to Harrisburg with a load of hay. Meeting colored Uncle Sam Jones, there, they would transfer a load of slaves to his wagon, hiding them under the hay, and start back to Wilkes-Barre. Then her father and mother, Cathren Brown, partly Indian, would conceal the slaves in a cellar in their home. Her mother always kept two kettles full of hot water to throw on any slaveholders, who tried to break in. It was common talk among the slaveholders that if they could get rid of Cathren Brown, they could get the slaves. After things had quieted down, her father would say: "Well, Cathren, I got to go up to Pleasant Valley with a load of hay." In early morning, he and the slaves would be on their way to Montrose, where Mr. Gildersleeve, a white man, would meet them halfway and take them to Montrose.

Mrs. Brown is the only living member of the Zion Church on Northampton Street.

A Mr. Isaiah C. Wears, a member of the "Underground Railway" died following a long illness. He was one of the best known colored men in the United States for over thirty years (died in 1901).

An educator and abolitionist, Mr. Wears was born in Maryland 79 years ago (1901) and came to this city at the outbreak of the Civil War. He joined the organization of "Underground Railway" and made secret trips South to aid escaping slaves. He also formed a regiment of colored soldiers in Maryland. Among his personal fiends were William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Summer and the poet Whittier. He died in Philadelphia.

INTRODUCTION TO GIBRAN KHALIL GIBRAN

by

M. Peter Mouallem

Historical Background

To really understand the personality and the writings of Khalil Gibran, it is essential to bear in mind that our author lived intensely the historical events that were shaping the political and social destiny of behavior, his native country.

In all his social writing - Spirits Rebellious, The Broken Wings, The Processions, etc., we find Gibran preoccupied with the historical development of Middle East. Because of his deep entanglement with history, Gibran's literature is today acclaimed as engagée or interlocked with various phases or factors.

When Gibran was born in 1883, Lebanon was still under the Ottoman Rule which began as early as 1516 with the coming of Sultan Salim I who defeated the Mamlooks, the previous conquerors of the Arab Lands. Prior to the Mamlooks invasion, the Islamic Empire that spread in the 8th century over North Africa, West Asia and Southern Europe, was known to be the most prosperous government in the world because of its progress in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, philosophy, literature, law and education, while Europe was buried in its dark ages. Historians remind us that it is the Arab world that brought Europe to enlightment. Now Gibran was aware of the Arab erudition; he was also aware that the Arab apogée of glory fell in decadence as soon as the Turkish conquerors took over the vastness of the lands. Primarily he attacked the Turks for the social and legal corruptions that the Sultans enforced in the Arab countries, Lebanon among them. His involvement with the politics of the Turks can best be assessed in his first book Spirits Rebellious; Chapter Two. For this book Gibran was exiled from Lebanon in 1903. In 1916, Gibran wrote his political poem Dead Are My People in which he lamented the cruelty of the Ottomans who starved the Christian Lebanese to death, thus bringing to the flagrant the scandal of inhumanity practiced by the Turks.

> "Gone are my people, but I exist yet, Lamenting them in my solitude... Dead are my friends, and in their Death my life is naught but great Disaster".
> "What can an exiled son do for his starving people, and of what value unto them is the Lamentation of an absent poet?...
> My people died a painful and shameful death, and here am I living in plenty and in Peace... This is deep tragedy ever - enacted upon the stage of my Heart;"
> "My people died on the cross...
> They died while their hands stretched toward the East and West, While the remnants of their eyes stared at the blackness of the Firmament... They died silently, for humanity had closed its ears to their cry. They died because they did not befriend their enemy. They died because they loved their neighbors. They died because they placed trust in all humanity. They died because they did not oppress the oppressors. They died because they were the crushed flowers, and not the crushing feet".

To be faithful to the spirit of Gibran we ought to acknowledge that the wretchedness of the Lebanese society as Gibran knew it and lived under, was not solely the outcome of the political decayed Laws of the Sultans, but a good part of the blame goes to the Lebanese Semi officials who worked for the Constantinople Government, and above all to the Lebanese clergies, Muslim and Christian. In the eyes of Gibran, Lebanon would have long ago alleviated her social burden had the clergies rallied with a true spirit of love and unselfishness and defended the cause of the people. Unfortunately, Gibran accused the clergy, without tangible proofs on his part, of having joined the Turkish oppressors, and as he put it, "for personal hate or revenge perhaps", to exploit, subjugate, and retain the populace in miseries.

Although the Maronite clergy has never excommunicated Gibran, it is felt, however, by most historians that in writing the adds played against him, because in the minds of the priests and sheikhs he was a renigate. This attitude of Gibran toward the established social institution of the clergy is pervasive throughout his writing.

A third theme much encountered in his work and which once more was inspired by the historical environment of the Middle East besides the themes of politics and organized religion - is the social custom and tradition of the Arab world. Gibran lived at the time when many Arab intellectuals were beginning to revolt against the ruling of the ottomans because of their rediscovery of the great erudition of their forefathers. Most of them, by the way, were political exiles. Now historically, the birth of this new intelligentsia group owes its existence, and its moral and intellectual fortitude to the felicitous expadition at Napoleon to Egypt, 1798. The French brought with them the very Arabian knowledge which had at one time awakened Europe from its slumberness, and which was lost, unfortunately, during the invasion of the ottomans.

Apart the Arab books that Napoleon brought to Mohammed Ali, he also flooded the Egyptian society with French experts for the purpose of acquainting the Egyptians with the latest intellectual endeavors of Europe. Fifty years later Cairo was becomming the cradle of the Contemporary Ulema movement. Gibran, a christian, knew and heard the philosophy of the ulema reformists and secularists who were pledging for social reforms in society and morality, rejecting the stagnant thinking (Tagleed) of tradition and propelling the (Ijtihad) or independent judgement. The most favorite social reform of Gibran was, however, marriage. Chapter one of Spirit Rebellious and the novel The Broken Wings underline his philosophy of cultural rejuvanation in the field of marriage and love.

> "Thus was my life before I attained the age of eighteen. That year is like a mountain peak in my life, for it awakened knowledge in me and made me understand the vicissitudes of mankind. In that year I was reborn and unless a person is born again his life will remain like a blank sheet in the book of existence. In that year, I saw the angels of Heaven looking at me through the eyes of a beautiful woman. I also saw the devils of hell raging in the heart of an evil man. He who does not see the angels and devils in the beauty and malice of life will be far removed from knowledge, and his spirit will be empty of affection."

And so, throughout the entire works of Gibran, we see, touch and feel that the themes of politics and justice, religion and clergy, cultural reform and social customs, nature and man, almost all were inspired by the historical fate in which Lebanon was imprisoned, and by the severity of human elements that he experienced in his early tender life.

The Life of Gibran in Chronological Order

Born January 6, 1883 in Besherri, Northern State, Lebanon; father Khalil ben Gibran, mother Kamila Rahmi a widow with a Jon Peter from her previous marriage; Peter was his half brother, Mariana and Sultana his sisters.

In 1896 Kamila, Peter, Mariana, Sultana and Gibran emigrate to Boston, Mass.

He studies two years in Boston.

From 1896 - 1901, Gibran goes back to Beirut, Lebanon, enters Madrasat Al Hikmat. Takes courses in international law, medicine, music, philosophy, history of religions.

In 1900 undertakes to paint for the first time portraits of Arab poets and philosophers, dispite that no drawings of these people existed. Falls in love with Miss Hala Daher whom he immortalizes in The Broken Wings (1912) under the psendonyme Selma.

From 1901 - 1903 stays in Paris, France, and write Spirits Rebellious. The officials burn this book in the Market place of Beirut, and Gibran is proclaimed undesirable to the Sultan of Beirut.

1903 Gibran receives a letter from Peter to return to Boston because his younger sister Sultana died from Tuberculosis caused by the infested slum houses where they lived.

1903 Gibran arrives in Boston and in March Peter also is attained by the same disease for the same reason and dies.

June 1903, Mother Kamila succumbs under the same plague, Tuberculosis, for the same reason and dies.

After June 1903, Gibran deeply depressed by melancholia moves away with his survived sister Mariana.

Early 1904, Gibran holds first exhibition of his paintings in the studio of Fred Holland Day, a friend photographer. Among the spectators comes Miss Mary Haskell who was to become his benefactress and best friend.

1908 Miss Haskell sends him to Paris and finances his studies of the Academic Julien and Exoles des Beaux Aets. He studies under the distinguished Sculptor Auguste Rodin who calls him the William Blake of the Twentieth Century. Gibran receives the news of his Pardon by the new Turkish government, the Young Turks.

1910 returns to Boston.

1912 moves to New York and takes residence at 51 West 10th Street. The same year he writes his novel The Broken Wings.

1912 the Lebanese Egyptian poetess May Ziadeh starts correspondence with him which led to a love between the two, though they will never see each other.

From 1912 - 1920, he paints portraits of illustrious U.S. and foreign dignitaries, and writes A Tear and A Smile (1914) where he states that human existence oscillates between "Sufferings" and "Joys", The Processions (1918), and his first Emglish book The Madman (1918), and The Forerunner (1920)

April 20, 1920, along with the poet - philosopher Mikhail Maimy, the poet - historian Amin Rihani and other, he institutes the new influential literary circle ARRABITAH, the Pen - Bond. As president of the association, Gibran sees to influence the Arab poets in the Middle East to break away from the traditional rules of poetry and to adapt prose - poetry. In the opinion of the Russian Orientalist Ignaee Kratcho - Uski, Gribran and the other Arab immigrant in America are the modernizers of contemporary Arabic Literature.

1923 he released to the press his immortal book The Prophet.

1923 his first biographer Miss Barbara Young becomes his secretary.

1928 he publishes his important work Jesus The Son of Man and argues that the Mission of Jesus was not to scare us with burdened religious laws nurtured on punishment, but to show us that, he, as one of us mortals succeeded to realize the divinity which is hidden in each one of us. "I am not sure if God created man, or man created God"?...

April 10, 1931, at the age of 48, Gibran died in St. Vincent's hospital, New York.

His sister Mariana takes his body to Lebanon, at the old Monastery of Mar - Sarkis in Wadi Kadisha, the outskirts of Besherri.

His burial is given one of the greatest national parade that ever took place till this day; from the port of Beirnt to Besherri, 75 miles, the dignitaries, the officials, and 300,000 person accompany the coffin which is made, according to his will, of plain wood cut from a cedar-tree and an olive-tree in Lebanon.

Gibran The Poet:

In the East and West Gibran is known to be a poet who successfully captured the meaning of human life and depicted it in a style and form that best conveys the content of ideas and motions, namely, poetry.

Gibran bore many influences on his poetry: his style owes much to the Bible, that is as a Middle Eastern, Gibran adopted the parabolical method which is prevalent in the Holy Book. Yet, academically speaking, it is the philosopher Nietzsche who introduces him to this method of writing. The parable is a fictitious narrative used to typify moral or spiritual relations, with this differences that the fiction of story is not a far fetched fairy tale but an imagery which seems easy to be grasped by the reader. The Madman, The Forerunner, Sand and Foam, The Prophet heavily rely on this stylistic method.

Gibran's poetry, on the other hand, does not follow the movement of Romanticism, rather because of its content which is always philosophical, it belongs to the school of Realism, Surrealism or even Existentialism. This is best seen through the fact that none of his stories are pure fiction and none of his heroes are extrapolated from the political or social scenes. Quite the contrary his heroes in The Spirits Rebellious, The Brokern Wings, The Prophet, The Voice of the Master, The Tempest, and alias are committed and engaged in the political, religious and social ideologies of the contemporary world.

> "The Day of My Birth"
> "It was on this day of the year that my Mother brought me into the world; on this day, a quarter - century past, the great silence placed me between the arms of existence, replete with lamentation ad tears and conflicts"...
> "During my twenty-five years of life I have loved many things, and often I loved that which the people hated, and that which I loved when I was a child, I still love, and shall continue to love fore-evermore. The power to love is God's greatest gift to man, for it never will be taken from the blessed one who loves...
> I love freedom, and my love for true freedom grew with my growing knowledge of the people's surrender to slavery and oppression and tyranny, and of their submission to the horrible idols erected by the past ages and polished by the parched lips of the slaves"...

In Gibran's opinion, the poet ought to serve truth, and the ethics of the poet is Truth. The criteria of his truth is love, nature, reality, life itself, the ways it is... "Life is an island in an ocean of loneliness, an island where rocks are hopes, whose trees are dreams, whose flowers are solitude, and whose brooks are thirst"...

The poet holds his vocation from God whom he is supposed to serve by enlightening the people to follow the love - commandment. "God has given you a spirit with wings on which to soar into the spacious firmament of Love and Freedom. Is it not pitiful then that you cut your wings with your own hands and suffer your soul to crawl like an insect upon the earth?"

Unfortunately, the poet is many times rejected by the people; like the poet, all concerned intellectual who has the good will to help his fellow man to find the true meaning of existence, is likewise turned down by the ignorance of the people.

For Gibran poetry is his personal style for conveying his philosophy. This way of writing is called metaphysical poetry, because the predominant theme of the poems are life situations: Love, morality, marriage, justice, war, peace, freedom, oppression, God, children, education, etc. founded on human existential relations, culminating in an apocalyptic vision of the world.

The apocalyptic vision of Gibran is to some extent influenced by the metaphysical poetry of the British William Blake. For both of them, the coming and the ending of the world, the alpha and omega, is to be synthesized at the meeting of God and the world. For this reason, Jesus for Gibran is the perfect son of man who also developed his divinity and became the son of God. And in the last chapter of The Prophet Gibran speaks of the reincarnating process which will end the day that humanity and divinity espouse each other.

> "You would know the secret of death. But how shall you find it unless you seek it in the heart of life? If you would indeed behold the spirit of death, open your heart wide unto the body of life. For life and death are one, even as the river and the sea are one".

> "I came to say a word and I shall say it now. But if death prevents me, it will be said by tomorrow, for tomorrow never leaves a secret in the book of Eternity. I came to live in the glory of

> Love and the light of Beauty, which are the reflections of God. I am here, living, and I cannot be exiled from the domain of life, for through my living word I will live in death. I came here to be for all and with all, and what I do today in my solitude will be echoed tomorrow by the multitude. What I say now with one heart will be said tomorrow by thousands of hearts".

"Poet, you are the life of this life, and you have triumphed over the ages despite their severity.

Poet, you will one day rule the hearts, and therefore, your kingdom has no ending.

Poet, examine your crown of thorns, you will find concealed in it a budding wreath of Laurel".

Gibran the Artist:

At the beginning of the 20th century, a few young talented Lebanese started to play their cultural role in the domain of visual art. Their mission appeared not to be very difficult by the fact that they had a rich background and cultural heritage in which art had a prominent place. At this moment I will only focus attention of a man who crystallized the movement of modern visual art, laying down its fundamental ideas, and designing its future course. This man is Khalil Gibran.

The works of Gibran do not seem to belong to any specific artistic school or trend that was dominant is his times He was not preoccupied for example with religious aspects in his paintings or drawings.

Gibran, thorugh his art work intended to attain some form of communication other than that of the letter or the speech, through which he could express his deep thoughts and boundless imaginations.

Most artists have special considerations for "Beauty" itself, as it looks to the eyes. Gibran does not. His concern is symbolic; his most nurtured desire is the expression of thought. He belongs to an Eastern school of "Parables and symbolism".

By making art a means to express his thoughts, Gibran made his art a means rather than an end: his art became subject to the higher cause it was serving, and no longer needed to be bound by considerations that hinder the realization of this goal.

The works of Gibran lead us to contemplation, not feeling. In other words, they require that we think beyond the work of art, to consider or to comprehend the meanings behind it.

The drawings of Gibran are fascinating,pleasing to the eye, impartial to the eye, impartial and transparent. Standing before them, we feel that we are actually standing in front of a mirror in which we see the reflection of the majesty of human existence in this unlimited universe of Gibran.

Gibran is both, artist and poet philosopher. "His art like his poems portrays his inner feelings concerning man in interaction with man". He loved nature. He loved God. God and nature co-exist. "Ecologist and environmentalists may estimate the nature and man of great importance. Here are come excerpts.":

> "One of the flowers raised her gentle head and whispers, "We weep because man will come and cut us down, and offer us for sale in the markets of the city..."

And I heard the brook lamenting like a widow mourning her dead child and I asked, "Why do you weep, my pure brook?" And the brook replied, "Because I am compelled to go to the city where man contemns me and spurns me for stronger drinks and makes of me a scavenger for his offal, pollutes my purity, and turns my goodness to filth".

> And I heard the birds grieving, and I asked, "Why do you cry, my beautiful birds?" And one of them flew near, and perched at the tip of a branch and said, "The sons of Adam will soon come into this field with their deadly weapons and make war upon us as if we were their mortal enemies"...
> "Why must Man destroy what nature has built?"

All human bodies painted by Gibran are naked, and when his friend, Miss Haskell asked him, why? Gibran answered:

> "Because life is naked. A nude body is the trust and noblest symbol of life. If I draw a mountain as a heap of human forms or paint a waterfall in the shape of tumbling human bodies, it is because I see in the mountain a heap of living things, and in the waterfall a precipitate current of life".

Gibran regarded art as a mission to seek the truth, a purpose to discover God, a means to exalt the beauty of humanity and nature.

> "Art is a step form nature toward the Infinite," "Art is a step in the known toward the unknown."

Finally, the art of Gibran is his very own identity, and when he was asked once to sign his drawings, he laughed and said: "No! Why should I" It will still be known for a "Gibran" when I have Lain long in the good dark earth beneath the Holy Cedars."

Gibran the Philosopher and the Mystic

Most of the time a philosopher develops either a speculative philosophy of a practical philosophy of action. Gibran was not a theoretician and abhorred abstract thinking. He was not good at systematization nor at logic. By his temperament he was a mind of action; truth, beauty, love, God had meaning only if these concepts were concretely articulated in a man's life. In this respect, Gibran's philosophy is as pragmatic as the American philosophers who created the movement of Pragmatism: William James, Dervey, Santayana.

As a philosopher of action Gibran tackled the pragmatic issues of social and legal justice, politics, culture and love behavior.

He criticized the present day behavior of the people because he felt that given the type of social environment, the individual person has almost lost touch with the natural spirituality of life. Modern man leads an inauthentic existence because instead of developing the bonds of nature, he has constructed to himself artificial behavior. The man of today does not feel any attachment to nature; his leisure time is not spent outdoor in nature. Man has fabricated an artificial world. The contract between "nature" and "artificiality" is a predominant theme in the mind of Gibran. The Procession is a meaningful dialogue between a man of wild nature and an elderly from civilization.

"Justice on earth would cause the Jinn
To cry at misuse of the world,
And were the dead to witness it,
They'd mock at fairness in this world.

To steal a flower we call mean,
To rob a field is chivalry;
Who kills the body he must die,
Who kills the spirit he goes free.

Happiness is a myth we seek,
if manifested surely irks;
Like river speeding to the plain.
On its arrival slows and murke.

For man is happy only in
His aspiration to the heights;
When he attains his goal, he cools
And longs for other distant flights.

For Love lies in the soul alone,
Not in the body, and like wine
Should stimulate out better self
To welcome gifts of Love Divine"

Along the lines of artificiality Gibran rakes the example of law in order to show the decadence of the native nature of man. In his opinion, the promulgation of laws stiffles the behavior of the individual, robs from him his freedom of being and doing; under the law everybody is the same. Gibran's critics of the legal system is not so much as polemic with the existence of the system in as much as it is a reply to the injustice committed by the guardian of the laws. For the rich and powerful people everything is permitted; laws are for the poor and the weak.

The only law that Gibran accepted is the law of love which is both devine and natural in origin. Its devine character stems from the fact that creation is an act of love of God.

"The power to
Love is God's greatest gift to man, For it never will be taken from
the blessed one who loves."

Consequently, the primordiality of existence is equal to the essence of love - Gibran, very carefully, has outlined the criteria of authentic love and contrasted them to the inauthentic definitions of sentimentalism, romanticism, self - obsessed egoism. The Prophet elaborates in great details the characteristics of genuine love:

"When love beckons to you, follow him, though his ways are hard and steep...

> For even as love crowns you so shall he crucify you. Even as he is for your growth so is he for your pruning...
> Love possesses not nor would it be possessed:
>
> For love is sufficient unto love...
> Love has not other desire but to fulfill itself. But if you love and must needs have desires, let these be your desires:
>
> To melt and be like a running break that sings its melody to the night...
> To know the pain of too much tenderness...
> To wake at dawn with a winged heart and give thanks for another day of loving"...

Gibran is called a prophet not so much because of the title of the book The Prophet in as much because of the visionary message he conveys. His message is not new; he borrowed it from the Holy Scriptures. In simple words, he repeats the opocalyptic vision of nature - man - God. In his vision he draws no polarities, no dichotomies between nature - man - God. He sees a perfect interdependence between the latter. Yet, this interdependence or unity is not a finished product, a static reality, but a process of becoming. If it is possible for man to speak about the realization, it is because he can experience himself at the meeting point between nature and God and actualize the bond of interdependence. Man vis-a-vis nature is a microcosm, or (a world in itself), vis-a-vis God he is a macrogod, or (as great as God); he possesses the spiritual quality of the diving that nature lacks. However, he is not for this matter of fact authoritatively superior to nature. Gibran considers that man can ascend to God through nature.

"I cannot teach you how to pray in words. And I cannot teach you the prayer of the seas and the forests and the mountains. But you who are born of the mountains and the forests and the seas can find their prayer in your heart.

Who can separate his faith from his actions, or his belief from his occupations? Your daily life is your temple and your religion. Whenever you enter into it take with you your all. And look into space; you shall see God walking in the cloud, outstretching his arms in the lightning, descending in Rain and smiling in flowers"...

To Gibran, nature is more than chemistry, physical laws; there is a hidden spirituality encompassed in every single object. A stone, for example, besides its physical characteristics, encompasses a "meaning" for which and by which it is what it is. A person who develops this attitude toward nature becomes of necessity a mystic; for a mystic is the one who transcends the phenomenal level and preceives emotionally and intellectually that spirituality is eveywhere, since everything in his eyes, becomes a spoken and speaking word of the presence of God.

This mystical vision is the very reason why Gibran attacked the organized religions. He believed that the institutionalized creeds introduce man and God by separating man from nature; that the religion of the churches burdens man with laws, ritualisms which if not obeyed will rid his conscience with guilts. Gibran prefers to worship God in nature and his fellowmen; his book of conduct is the Bible and not the logical interpretations; his model is Jesus The Son of man who realized his divinity.

Conclusion:

Gibran's fame stems not from a Genius creation or a sophisticated discovery. As a matter of fact Geniuses are not read by the masses; their names are known but not their discovery. Gibran, on the other hand, is accessible to everyone: intellectual, student, old, young, poor, rich, and the man of the street. Why? His merits consist in having understood the basic human feelings and human situations which are universal and eternal, and having conveyed them in a style that is soothing to the reader and stimulates his imagination.

Gibran Khalil Gibran is a complex personality, a deep thinker, yet, simple in his style. In his lifetime he combined the basic professions of the humanities - art, literature, philosophy, theology - while remaining a social reformer and political idealogue in the true sense of a participant citizen. He made "human life" his primary objective of studies, and approached the subject-matter with compassion and a desire of completeness. He took man in his everyday life of sorrows and joys; he described in great details the development of human destiny throughout existence; finally, he made himself a duty to remind the human race what it lacks and where to find the remedy for its ill: in true religion and fraternal love.

Understanding quite well the shortcomings of language - loving witnessed himself the difficulties to comprehend because of the confusion that words may create - Gibran adopted simplicity in style and a minimal vocabulary for the purpose of arousing feelings and thoughts in the individual readers without that the latter toil too much.

With strong convictions he lectured to the American audience the practice of mysticism that is accessible and not contradictory to a style of life of businessman amidst the tumults of a New York.

Americans like to read him because he is at once exotic, mediterranean, and Americanized; they know what he says because he is one of them, while they are curious because he stands for a culture that is not the background of all of them. He associated himself with the West and he liked its depth while keeping on his lips the pure and beautiful smile of the East.

Gibran has become a classic author, not as a consequence of the sales of his books but due to his successful interpretation of the eternal human situations of love and sorrow, interpersonal relations between husband and wife, parents and children, the individual and society, law and justice, God and man.

These human conditions are timeless and spaceless, not withstanding that these comprise the bulk of man's destiny.

And finally I conclude with some words of Gibran that he addressed to a similar distinguished audience:

> Peace be with you, my Friends!
> "Peace be with you, oh Night,
> Through whose darkness the lights
> Of heaven Sparkel!
> Peace be with you, Spring, who
> Restores the earth to youth!

Peace be with you, Summer, who
Heralds the glory of the sun!
Peace be with you, Autumn, who
Gives with joy the fruits of
Labor and the harvest of toil!
Peace be with you, Winter, whose
Rage and tempest restore to
Nature her sleeping strength!

Peace be with you, Years, who
Reveal what the years concealed!
Peace be with you, Ages, who
Build what the ages destroyed!
Peace be with you, Time, who leads
Us to the fullness of death!
Peace be with you, Heart, who
Throbs in peace while submerged
In tears!
Peace be with you, Lips, who
Utter joyous words of "salaam" while
Tasting the goll and the vinegar
Of life!
Peace be with you, Soul, who
Directs the rudder of life and
Death while hidden from us
Behind the curtain of the sun!"

Peace be with you, my Friends!

Study Guide

1. Technicalities

Texts

A. Required

Khalil Gibran: Spirits Rebellious,
New York: Philosophical Library.

Khalil Gibran: Broken Wings, Secaucus,
N.J.: The Citadel Press.

Khalil Gibran: The Voice of the Master,
Secaucus, N.J.: The Citadel Press.

Khalil Gibran: Secrets of the Heart,
New York: Philosophical Library.

B. Optional

Khalil Gibran: The Prophet,
New York: Alfred A. Knopp.

Joseph Ghougassian: Khalil Gibran-Wings of Thought, Secaucus,
N.J.: The Citadel Press, 1973,
(Paperbound)

2. Themes of Lectures and Class Discussions

A. Life of Gibran.
B. Analysis of Gibran's writings.
C. Analysis of Gibran's literature compared to American literature:

1. Readings of Poetry in Secrets of the Heart:

"We and Your,"
"Between Night and Morn,"
"My Countrymen"
"Dead are My Poeple".

2. Readings of Prose - Poetry in Secrets of the Heart:

"Slavery",
"The Poet",
"The Crucified",
"The Cortege".

3. Reading of Short Plays in Secrets of the Heart:

"Iram"
"The City of Lofty Pillars".

4. Reading of Essays in Secrets of the Heart:

"The Tempest"
"Satan".

D. Gibran the Artist. Relation between Art and Poetry - "Gibran expresses his thoughts through his thoughts through his drawings".

E. Social Philosophy of Gibran. Readings: Spirits Rebellious.

F. Gibran, Philosopher of Love and Sorrow. Readings: The Broken Wings.

G. Meaning of Religion. Readings: The Voice of the Master.

H. Conclusion: Meaning and Contributions of Gibran to American Culture.

3. Homework Assignment

A. Readings for Class Discussion

B. Research Papers; (The student will select an approval by the instructor, a "Theme" from the works of Gibran and treat it objectively and subjectively, i.e. state the thoughts of Gibran and evaluate positively and negatively the ideas).

C. Play the Record The Prophet, read by Richard Harris, and have class discussion.

GIBRAN IN AMERICA

By Prof. Joseph P. Ghougassian, Ph.D.

University of San Diego

I

America and its Noble constitution stemmed from the strong desire of our immigrant forefathers to make this land the crossroad of civilizations and the craddle of a brotherhood erected on cross-cultures. The beauty of this melting-pot, as the sociologists pejoratively characterize it, takes its charm from the fact that while every citizen adheres to the flag he does it by contributing the best of his cultural heritage.

Khalil Gibran was no less one of those Americans who enriched the cultural treasure of this land. He paid his dues to America, so to speak, by giving the best he brought from his native land Lebanon. And indeed, he succeeded in breaching the gaps of the East and the West. Archie Bunker, Mr. Sanford and Mr. Jefferson should be ashamed for they failed to transcend the bigotry of their skin and of their former culture. But not Gibran.

His name has rather become something familiar to countless of individuals of all sorts of professions. T.V. producers, movie makers inasmuch as publishers are quoting incessantly from his sayings with no reservations.

II

The question we may ask ourselves at this point could be formulated in the following way:

What is in Gibran as a writer and in his personality that attracts magnetically the hearts and minds of the learned persons in as well as of the olds, middle ages and the adolescents, the women and the men? Why is his popularity spread across this nation? Rumor circulates that the name of Gibran, next to the Bible is the best known among simple folks! His book The Prophet, from the time it was published in 1923 has then been translated in more than twenty-five languages! His author royalties from one of his publishers alone, Alfred Knopf, reaches annually half a million dollars! Now why such a sale?

It cannot be said that it was fortuitious and by pure chance that the name of this Prophet from the lands of the Cedars — became known invariably to millions in the U.S.A. and in the other continents of the world.

My answer to these queries is much similar to that of his readers: Gibran provides to our intellectual curiosity what our heart longs for in this day of insecurity, senseless wars, loss of personhood.

What he offers us he brought it with him from the East and this is the best that the Eastern culture has ever invented. This is mystical spirituality. Readers of his book The Prophet know what I mean.

Yet the ways he presents us this eastern cultural mysticism is not in bloc eastern. I mean that he does not afford us with the product in the very same fashion that the product is being displayed in those far away cultures. Quite the contrary, Gibran is an expert of human needs in that he teaches spirituality in the style which best corresponds to our capabilities to assimilate it. Academically we call this "acculturation" and we imply that the moods of one culture undergoes changes in order to fit the personality of another diverse culture.

Gibran's eastern spirituality is Westernized; it is not a 100% copy of the original eastern mysticism, but the synthesis of the East and West.

There lies in my opinion the merits of this American Lebanese artist, poet, mystic and philosopher. He is a genuine American genius. And his mysticism for which he is frantically followed by his American countrymen is authentically an American brand. To take the instance of his book The Prophet, with the fresh, effortless, humanistic and the instantly simple message if uncompasses — this book moves very effectively the hearts and minds of his readers. The U.S. youth is in particular attracted to his messianic and evangelic spirituality in this age of materialism, because he finds intellectual nourishment and personality fulfillment in Gibran.

Gibran is a Prophet, and a prophet is a man of vision, a future teller of the apocalytic becoming of the world. His sayings are timeless, spaceless, because as an American Lebanese prophet he did not speak for one generation, one geographical spot.

If the spirit of American grew out of the disenchantment of the immigrants vis-a-vis the parochialism of their native culture, then I say the Spirit of America is the meeting point of the fractured world, and Gibran is beyond shadow of doubt truely THE INTELLECTUAL American for he fulfilled the spirit of the meeting point of cultures. My best proof is that everybody, of all walks of life and all types of culture read him and understand his teaching.

Truth is one, but it is called by many names for the individual person lets himself and his knowledge become prisoner of his immediate time and space bounded society and culture. But the authentic person transcends the fragmentations of his sociological perceptions; he becomes imbued with the very spirit of evangelism which is that of universality. The evangile we know was written for every human mortal regardless of skin color. This same universality is found in Gibran. Only a writer who thinks big can reach a big audience.

III

One of the greatest merits of our author is his compassionate and all-encompassing understanding of human life. With his big eyes of the mind Gibran knew how to peep into the essence of human existence in view of depicting the timeless and spaceless essence of human situations. It is this accessibility of knowledge of life which he displays on the markets of minds for a prize which is effortless, yet, true to the point — that he deserves fame and reputation. In other words Gibran has yielded to us the nectar of human existence — this very existence that the academic professors have pain to convey to the man of the street since they use a linguistic jargon incomprehensible and flat.

Gibran, a Lebanese American, is a visionist and uses no medium to perforate the meaning of the essence of life, except that of language which he considers the vehicle of communication. His language is poetry; his poetry, however, is not loaded with a self-agonizing and self-obsessional romanticism. His poetry is rather committed, engaged we say in academic vernacular; committed to soothe the contradictions of emotions and with the intent to induce the reader to action.

The metaphysics of essence, meaning and doing — the esse and Agere of the Latins — he correlates them and crystalizes them in a comprehensible poetic message. His American audience understand him and are moved in their heart and mind with this difference that each one of his readers identifies himself with his sayings, according to the ways which are personal and appropriate to his uniqueness. In this sense, Gibran speaks individually to the fore of each person and simultaneously to mankind as a whole.

Personally I am fascinated to notice that though he wrote The Prophet in one language and used the same words to express his innermost thoughts and feelings, still each reader sees something unique and appropriate to his personality needs.

Doesn't this remind us of the New Testament where we are told that when the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles the people listening then each understood them in their own tongue?

Only Prophet have the power of tongues and can reach heterogeneous audiences. Our Man from Lebanon possessed this divine gift of making himself understood to audiences of all walks of life and cultural backgrounds. He is a man of mankind and for humanity.

I would say that this quality, virtue and forcefulness — Gibran owes it to his Lebanese milieu, the land of the Cedars which has been exporting for centuries Mystics to the world in order to enlighten the path of their fellowmen of other nations.

IV

The peculiar trait of Gibran's mysticism and for which he is accepted by his U.S. reader, is something that can be followed and practiced in the very heart of a New York busy environment, amids brouhahas and tumults. This trait I believe is responsible for making Gibran one of the favorite writers of the Americans.

As an American he addressed himself to his fellow Americans on the issue of spirituality because that is what he had on hand from the East as something to complement their needs and personality. The nature now of this spirituality — mind you — is animated by his philosophy of LOVE, which you find pervasive and central in all his books. His theory of love squares with common sense knowledge, and is practical: the major characteristics of this love comprise the following data facts:

(1) Love is the quintessence of existence. As formely God created out of an act of love, so it goes that existence equals love.

(2) Love also is disinterestedness, it gives and does calculate with the spirit of receiving; its interest is in giving unconditionally.

(3) Love, moreover, knows no time and no space, it is eternal.

(4) Love is stronger than death in that a lover never forgets his beloved even after the latter has ceased to be physically present. The lover hopes to rejoin his/her beloved; is faithful to the memories of the departed love; and is always available to the image

of the dead.

(5) Another trait of love is its commanding universality in that the spirit of love disregards differences of skin color, religious affiliation, political party and cultural backgrounds.

(6) Love, furthermore, gives delicious pain, because realistically speaking, a lover always assumes with responsibility the headaches and miseries of the beloved. As there are no beautiful and scented roses without thorns, so it goes too that there is no authentic love without afflictions.

(7) Love, on the other hand, develops genuine bounds of interpersonal relationships.

(8) Love guarantees freedom and increases personal freedom; paradoxically as it may sound, the limitations experienced are self-imporssed and are willingly outlined out of a personal consent.

(9) This means that love guarantees the uniqueness of personality of the lover.

All these characteristics of love Gibran borrowed them from the New Testament which was written in the Middle East. Yet, the way he illustrates the mysticism of love is something definitely Gibranian, in that he presents it with no preconceived notion to convert the reader to theological Revelation. Therefore, you don't need to be a Christian to practice Love; such love is primarily a fact of life and its directives apply unconditionally to any one who wants to live morally worthy, in as much as it is a psychological rule for developing a healthy personality.

This amounts to reinstate what I have been trying to prove about the universality, the fame, the magnetism of Gibran in America. Like the greats mystics, he was intensely religious and therefore had no preference for any "formulated" religion. He believed in the "communion of spirits" and in oecumenism that makes all men "brothers before the face of heaven." In his book titled Spiritual Sayings he wrote:

> Your thoughts advocates Judaism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. In my thoughts there is only one universal religion whose varied paths are but the fingers of the loving hand of the Supreme Being.

This one "universal religion" is love; love is its own religion which forcefully compels the person to confess his faith in God, and to transcend any religious system based upon organization.

V

The interesting thing about Gibran's philosophy of love is that it is the foundation upon which he has developed his theory of society, politics, law, esthetics and poetry, in one academic word, his Weltanschauung.

Because love is a natural quality of existence we find Gibran contrasting in his social writings the native nature of man versus the artificial constructed nature of technological civilization. Much like Jean Jacques Rousseau who influenced him on this point, Gibran advances the idea that unless there be a spiritual awakening in society, the individual will lose his self-identity and freedom. This idea is current today among the U.S. youth who sometimes complain that the materialistic aspirations of their parents is unacceptable to their sense of value.

Also, this very theme of "spiritual awakening" Gibran introduced it in his philosophy of law. He considers that if law does not evolve with the same pace as society, values and morality grow, then the legal system will hurt more than protect the person's rights. Another of his social concepts which he delved upon is the "Woman." All his life he remained indebted to women: his mother, sister, benefactress and friends for helping him. He wrote and felt it that women were socially and legally misunderstood and wretched. In the Broken Wings he took up their defense.

Finally, his philosophy of love also animates and is at the root of his political philosophy, which by the way is much inspired by the Spirit of the American constitution.

In The Wanderer he gives us the parable of The King who practiced Abraham Lincoln's philosophy "of the people, by the people for the people." The words of Gibran's King are:

> "There is no such person as governor. Only the governed exist to govern themselves."

Well it is no wonder to witness that the American Youth who is currently developing a cosmic consciousness of world brotherhood will will follow avidly Gibran. Among the hippies, Jesus Super Star, Pentecost and war resistance groups, many sincere and serious college and university youth have embarassed Gibran's philosophy of life.

VI

Gibran did also address himself to his fellow native Lebanese. However, to them he spoke in terms of social, legal and political problems. In all his essays on the Middle East in general, he offered advice as to how to wake up with Western erudition; yet here too he did not present Western ideas in their 100% purity; being a blend of multicultures he knew how to extrapolate Western ideas and render them esay to be absorbed by the Middle Eastern metabolism. However, here is not the place to elaborate on Gibran in Lebanon. Our topic was Gibran in America.

Before I conclude, I would like to remind my fellow American Lebanese that Gibran did at one time speak directly to them. Much like Shukri al Khouri, the Latin American Lebanese who once stated in his novel The Length of Life: "If anyone would like to serve his country, it is by immigrating abroad that he would and could best serve her" in the same way we find Gibran reminding his U.S. Lebanese of the same precept. Here is what he wrote to you:

MIRRORS OF THE SOUL

I BELIEVE IN YOU

by Gibran

I believe in you, and I believe in your destiny.

I believe that you are contributors to this new civilization.

I believe that you have inherited from your forefathers an ancient dream, a song, a prophecy, which you can proudly lay as a gift of gratitude upon the lap of America.

I believe that you can say to the founders of this great nation, "Here I am, a youth, a young tree whose roots were plucked from the hills of Lebanon, yet I am deeply rooted here, and I would be fruitful."

And I believe that you can say to Abraham Lincoln, the blessed, "Jesus of Nazareth touched your lips when you spoke, and guided your hand when you wrote; and I shall uphold all that you have said and all that you have written."

I believe that you can say to Emerson and Whitman and James, "In my veins runs the blood of the poets and wise men of old, and it is my desire to come to you and receive, but I shall not come with empty hands."

I believe that even as your fathers came to this land to produce riches, you were born here to produce riches by intelligence, by labor.

I believe that it is in you to be good citizens.

And what is it to be a good citizen?

It is to acknowledge the other person's rights before asserting your own, but always to be conscious of your own.

It is to be free in word and deed, but it is also to know that your freedom is subject to the other person's freedom.

It is to create the useful and the beautiful with your own hands, and to admire what others have created in love and with faith.

It is to produce by labor and only by labor, and to spend less than you have produced that your children may not be dependent upon the state for support when you are no more.

It is to stand before the towers of New York and Washington, Chicago and San Francisco saying in your heart, "I am the descendant of a people that builded Damascus and Byblos, and Tyre and Sidon and Antioch, and now I am here to build with you, and with a will."

You should be proud of being an American, but you should also be proud that your fathers and mothers came from a land upon which God laid His gracious hand and raised His messengers.

Young Americans of Syrian origin, I believe in you.

BYZANTINE CULTURE IMMIGRATES TO AMERICA

by

Vladimir Stakhy, Borichevsky, Archpriest

RUSSIAN BYZANTINE CULTURE COMES TO AMERICA

Until the arrival of the Russians in Alaska in 1741, the American cultural scene was exclusively within the sphere of influence of the western European cultural tradition, primarily Anglo-Saxon, Spanish and French. South and Central America, Mexico and California were within the Spanish sphere, the British colonies were Anglo-Saxon, and Canada and Louisiana were under French influence. North and South America remained under western European cultural influence until the arrival of the Russians in Alaska.

In 1741, a new ingredient was added to the cultural mix of the indigenous cultural traditions of various native Indian cultures of North and South America. The Russians brought with them the Byzantine culture which had been introduced into Russia one thousand years earlier, and which had become a distinctive national Russian-Byzantine culture. The Byzantine cultural tradition introduced by the Russians remained geographically isolated. In Alaska, its influence on the natives--Aleuts, Indians, and Eskimos--was conveyed primarily by and through the Orthodox Faith introduced by the missionaries of the Church of Russia. Although the Russians had some contacts with the Spanish in California, the English in Canada and the Americans, most contacts were brief and limited in scope. Russians cast bells for the Spanish missions, repaired ships that visited Sitka and Kodiak, and established a colony for a brief period (1812-1848) eighty miles north of San Francisco, at Fort Ross, near Bodega Bay. The contacts were primarily for purposes of trade, and the possibility of significant cultural influences were very limited.

Russian culture was introduced into the life of the Alaskan natives by the missionaries of the Orthodox Church. They converted the natives to Orthodox Christianity and built churches for them. These structures were built in the style of contemporary churches of northern Russia. The icons, artifacts, ecclesiastical vessels and vestments which decorated the churches were brought from Russia itself. At first, the Old Slavonic was the exclusive language of the liturgical services, but it rapidly gave way to the native Aleut, Indian and Eskimo languages as translations became available.

The first Orthodox church in America was built in Kodiak in 1795. This edifice was dedicated to the feast of the Resurrection and was constructed of wood, a construction material superbly handled by Russian craftsmen. Though the original church was burned and destroyed, an idea of the type of construction utilized can be seen in the Baranov house still standing near the original site of the church. One church of this period still stands in Kenai, and another in Elkutna, near Anchorage. Very sturdy in design, they were built without nails, simply fitted together and secured with wooden pegs.

The churches of northern Russia which served as models for the churches of Alaska were similar to the stave churches of Norway. In the hands of Russian craftsmen, they became distinctly Byzantine in spirit and design, although the original Byzantine structures were constructed of brick and stone. Alaskan villages to this day retain an appearance not unlike that of the northern Russian villages of the lake country near Finland. Prior to the arrival of the Russians, the Aleuts and Eskimos lived in skin huts and caves. The Tlinglit and Athabascan Indians of the Northwest, on the other hand, lived in log dwellings distinctively decorated with wood carvings and with totem poles.

The most impressive structure built in Russian Alaska was the Cathedral of St. Michael in Sitka. It was designed and constructed under the supervision of Father John

Veniaminoff, a native of Siberia and a man of many talents--a linguist, a philologist, an anthropologist, botanist, architect, clockmaker, expert wood craftsman, ironworker, as well as learned theologian. He personally designed and built with his own hands the six-foot wood clock in the bell-tower of the church. When English and Yankee sea captains put into Sitka, Alaska, in the time of Fr. Veniaminoff (1834-1839), and later on when he became the first bishop of Alaska (1841-1860), they were amazed to find a modern, thriving sea port. In addition to the imposing cathedral of St. Michael, there was a bishop's residence, a forty-bed hospital, Baranov's "castle", a new pier and a club house with living accommodations for unmarried employees. There was also a Lutheran church for the Finns and Germans in the colony. A civilized city in the center of a thousand square miles of the northwestern wilderness. The jewel of this bit of civilization was St. Michael's Church, simple and even austere with a thin spire crowning its bell-tower. The interior of the church was beautifully decorated in the contemporary Russian style. The iconostasis (a screen of icons separating Nave from the Sanctuary) was covered with icons, most of them covered with silver rizas, except for the faces and hands of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints depicted in the icons. Everything in the Cathedral was brought from Russia, gifts of the Tsar and Tsarina, the Holy Synod, wealthy landowners, rich merchants and grateful seafarers. The impression made on visitors who had never before witnessed the liturgical services of the Orthodox Church in all their Byzantine splendour and beauty was overwhelming. Bishop Innokenty was an imposing personage, six foot-three inches tall. In his rich gold brocade vestments and wearing a bejeweled "Byzantine" miter, he was a truly impressive figure, as he celebrated the intricate liturgical services. This was a Byzantine mosaic of Ravenna or of St. Sophia brought to life. It was only surpassed by the beauty of the great spruce forests of Sitka against the azure-blue of the northwestern skies.

The typical Russian icon of this period was painted in what can be called a western Byzantine iconographic style: Byzantine in form, but using western realistic technique, coloring and media. The Madonna of Sitka, the best-known and the most highly revered icon from the Cathedral of St. Michael, was painted by J.B.Borovikovsky in the early part of the nineteenth century. The icon is of the type called "The Mother of God of Kazan". It is painted in oils on canvas rather than in egg tempera on a board as were most ancient icons.

The Cathedral of St. Michael was destroyed by a fire several years ago in 1966. It has since been reconstructed meticulously according to its original design. Fortunately most of the icons, artifacts, vessels and vestments escaped destruction and now decorate the new Cathedral.

The first period of Byzantine cultural influence in America lasted from 1741 to 1867 when Alaska was sold to the United States. This period coincided with the period of western European decadence in Russian cultural, political, and religious life. It was the period of greatest European influence which began with Peter the Great (1689-1725) and included the time of Elizabeth (1741-1761), Peter III (1761-1762), Catherine II (1762-1796), Paul (1796-1801), Alexander I (1801-1825) and Nicholas I (1825-1855). It was the period of falling-away and decadence in all aspects of life from the point of view of the Byzantine cultural purists and the Slavophiles, who championed the return to the ideas and ideals of the Holy Russia of the first seven centuries of Orthodox Christian history.

Thus in the first period, Byzantine cultural impact upon American life was isolated in Alaska, and its influence was limited. Its influence was primarily on the northern Aleuts, Indians and Eskimos. Byzantine culture that was introduced was that of the period of western European decadence.

At this point it would be wise to briefly recapitulate Byzantine cultural history up to and including the end of the nineteenth century when Byzantine culture came to America.

ELEVEN CENTURIES OF BYZANTINE ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Byzantine culture was the product of a highly sophisticated civilization, one of the most remarkable in history. The Empire lasted for 1143 years (340-1453) from the foundation of the city of Constantinople on the site of ancient Byzantium by Emperor Constantine, until the Empire ultimately fell with the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II on the twenty-ninth of May, 1453. Byzantium was the heir of and a living link between the classical cultures of Rome and Greece, and the modern cultures of western and eastern Europe. Both have a common foundation on which they have built their modern cultural superstructures.

Byzantine culture is not only long-lived — it has now outlasted the Byzantine Empire by more than five hundred years — but it was also widespread. First of all, it reached into every corner of the Byzantine Empire, and it spread beyond its borders into Africa, Asia and Europe. Today, if you wanted to see the greatest surviving examples of Byzantine art and architecture, you would find them in such diverse places as Venice, Rome, Palermo, and Ravenna in Italy; Athens, Thessalonica, and Mount Athos in Greece; Sopocani, Studenica and Garacanica in Yugoslavia; Constantinople, Nicea, Smyrna, Ephesus in Turkey; Damascus in Syria; Emmaus, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Mount Sinai in Palestine; Kherson and Kiev in Russia, and also in Egypt, north Africa, Persia, and Bulgaria. This partial list gives an idea of the extensive spread of Byzantine culture in the Mediterranean world in eleven centuries of the Christian era.

The techniques of art and architecture had already reached a high level of sophistication when Byzantium gave way to Constantinople, and the name of the old city was given to the Empire and the culture born in 330. The Christians turned the Greek temples into churches. The Parthenon served as a Christian church longer than it served as a pagan temple. The Christians turned the temple inside-out. They placed columns inside the temple, and the walls they first painted with frescoes. The mosaics were first used to cover the floor with colorful decorations of geometric design, or with flowers, plants, animals and fish. Occasionally mosaics had been used to cover walls of palaces or of public baths with representations of the pagan gods. Rarely, an artist in mosaic would reproduce a famous painting such as the fragment of the great battle of Isus in the Naples Museum. For the most part, mosaics were incidental decoration, until one day a Byzantine artist, some unknown genius, was inspired to decorate the whole inside of a church with pieces of painted glass, precious and semi-precious stones, and gold-leaf.

No doubt single protraits of Christ, of the symbol of the Cross, of the Virgin Mary and of the saints appeared first. However, it was not long before the mosaic became the uniquely Christian medium for filling with color and light every inch of space of the church interiors.

The largest intact churches decorated in mosaics are to be found in Italy, once a part of the Byzantine Empire or within its sphere of influence. Most of the work was done by Byzantine artisans. In Rome, the apse mosaic of Christ and the twelve apostles in the Church of St. Prudenza represents an advanced sophisticated mosaic, though it is a work of the end of the fourth century. The church of Ss. Cosmas and Damian has a powerful apse mosaic of Christ striding forth on the clouds and on either side of him, the two chief apostles Peter and Paul, a work of the sixth century. Rome has many other churches with mosaics of the period of Byzantine art before the sixth century.

The second great period of Byzantine art and architecture carries the name of Justinian (527-565), who built the great church of the Holy Wisdom, truly a stupendous and daring structure, considered an architectural marvel for many centuries. Its sheer immensity is breathtaking, yet is was built in six years to replace a church destroyed by a rioting mob. When Justinian dedicated the Church of Haghia Sophia, he explaimed, "Glory to God Who has counted me worthy to perform so great a work! Solomon, I have surpassed you!"

It was a boast full of human pride, but one difficult to deflate. It was true. Haghia Sophia remained one of the greatest of all Christian Churches, if not the greatest, until its superb mosaics disappeared under coats of white plaster. The Turks captured Constantinople converted Haghia Sophia into a mosque. Some forty years ago it was turned into a musuem, and the uncovering of the mosaics was begun. Most of mosaics of Justinian's time were destroyed, but a few of the later mosaics have been uncovered. The most remarkable is the eighteen foot high Deisis — an icon of Christ with the Virgin Mary on His right and St. John the Baptist on His left. Though partially destroyed the faces are intact; it is still possible to appreciate this masterpiece generally conceded to be the most masterly mosaic composition in the history of this art.

Mary, the Mother of Jesus and St. John the Baptist stand in petition before Jesus Christ, the Lord — interceding for the world of sinners. Christ stands in peaceful calm and majesty. He is bearded, but a young and beautiful man, the divine King. On His right stands the Queen, her head is bowed in petition and her face is full of compassion as she pleads for mankind. However, the most remarkable iconographic portrait is that of the Forerunner, St. John the Baptist. Here the mosaic artist revealed his genius and total command of the medium. St. John is the essence of the power and awesome beauty of intercession. His face is that of a desert ascetic, lined with care and worn by the desert wind and heat. The bronze-colored hair blown by the wind sweeps backward in powerful waves, while the darker hair of the beard is tangled like some desert bush. What we see is a face full of the tragic beauty of humanity, a beautiful human face as it faces the impassive justice and mercy of the Divine Judge. The Precursor is also the intercessor who pleads for all sinners. He is the ascetic who dedicates his life totally for the attainment of the goal "to see God."

The Byzantine mosaic artists were highly capable men who employed a great variety of techniques, and each with great facility. They manipulated their medium, increasingly smaller bits of colored stone and glass, with the versatility of an artist using a brush and a pallete of paints, tempera or oil. As a result the Byzantine mosaic artist almost suceeded in doing the impossible, transforming limited temporal space into infinite divine space. A simple church with four walls and a roof becomes the dwelling-place of a divine vision. The faithful entering the Church are drawn into a holy circle which leads them into a divine world and into the very presence of the living God. The vision of the burning bush on Mount Sinai is manifested once again. The light which plays on the mosaic walls of a Church, such as the Haghia Sophia in Constantinople, or Saint Vitale and Saint Appolinaire in Ravenna, or Saint Sophia in Kiev, is transformed into a holy, a divine light — the light of heaven made visible to the human eye and the eyes of faith.

The genius of the Byzantine theologian, the iconographer and the layman were all dedicated to the task of meeting the challenge of transforming a temporal structure into a divine temple filled with the atmosphere of worship and faith. The bishops, priests and deacons in their many-colored vestments of gold and silver brocade, the choirs of singers, the cloud of incense pouring forth from swinging gold and silver censers, the complex liturgical services filled with religious drama and the periods of silence all together created a harmonius religious symphony in sound, sight, order and color infused with light. One was tempted to believe that the colorful mosaics, frescoes and icons were an extension of the liturgical services. All this may seem to be artificial, and in its first dimension it is palpably contrived, but yet it could be to the person of faith who participated a truly religious experience.

The members of the delegation of the Russ sent by Vladimir from Kiev to Constantinople were deeply moved by a liturgical service in the Haghia Sophia. They expressed their feelings by saying that they did not know whether they were on earth or in heaven. They had seen a vision akin to the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor when Peter, James and John were filled with the beauty of the vision and said "It ~~is~~ so good to be here." And they wanted to remain to pitch their tents their to enjoy the vision. The author of the Russian Chronicle wrote "We cannot forget the beauty." Indeed they tried to capture it in a host of icons. Andrei Rublyev, the greatest of Russian iconographers may well have succeeded in his icon of the Old Testament Trinity considered by many as the greatest of all icons.

Byzantine art and architecture was the baptized art and architecture of the pagan world, now filled with the Grace of the Holy Spirit in the Church of Christ. It is now the medium of divine revelation, a Christian art form. In time the Russians adopted the Orthodox Faith and with it they received the benefits of the highly sophisticated Byantine Culture, at the time of its highest development. They transformed the people and their land into what came to be called Holy Russia. The land was filled with Churches which are still the joy and pride of a nation which today has a government avowedly atheistic and militantly anti-religious.

The mosaic in Russia never became the medium of the iconographer. The fresco was more adaptable to the Russian style of Church structure, and they utilized it with the same skill as did the mosaic artist of Byzantium.

However, the real genius of the Russian iconographer was the icon painted in egg tempera on wood panels. These were first developed in the Byzantine world, but it was the Russians who took the faith in Christ into their hearts in a very personal way, to bring the icon down to human dimensions. The eighteen foot high Deisis of the Haghia Sophia, became the Deisis of the worshipper. The family icon became a great favorite and soon icons filled every home and building. In addition to the small family icons, there were miniature portable iconostasis, icons to be carried in procession and carried with one on ones travels.

Icons were carried not only in religious processions, but they were taken into battle and lead armies in combat. The appearance of the Mother of God of Smolensk on the field of battle before the Battle of Borodino is described with great power by Leo Tolstoy in the novel War and Peace. Individual soldiers wore metal icons on their breasts together with the Cross.

Icons were members of the Christian family, a place of honor was reserved for them in the icon corner of the main room. Before them the family gathered in prayer in the morning and at night. The icon witnessed all the great events in the life of the family, birth, baptism, confession, marriage and death. The father and mother blessed their children when they left home with a treasured family which was given to them when they established a new home. All icons, especially those highly revered, had their own names. The icon of the Russian nation was called the Mother of God of Vladimir, original brought to Russian from Constantinople in the beginning of twelfth century (1120-1130) to the court of grand duke in Vyshegorod. Duke Andrei Bogolyubski took it to Vladimir on the Klyazmain 1153, from which came its name. From that time on it participated in all the major events of the history of the Russian nation. There were many other icons revered by all of Russia, the Ikon of Mother of God of Kazan, of Tikhvin (now in America), of the Don, of Smolensk, of Chenstohowa (now in Poland) and many others.

The history of Byzantine culture in Russia is highly complex as new research begins to reveal its full dimensions. In simplest terms it can be divided into four major periods often intertwined and interrelated.

The first period is the pre-Mongolian Period in which Byzantine culture was introduced and for a brief period flowered primarily in the major city of ancient Russ, Kiev. It is also called the Kievan Period, 988-1240. The second period was the Novgorodian Period named for the city which remained unconquered by the Mongolians, and where Byzantine culture was rapidly taking on a definite Russian characteristic continued to develop. The city of Novgorod gave way to the rising city in forests, Moscow in the fifteenth century, the future capital of a unified nation.

The greatest masterpiece of Russian iconography, Andrei Bublyev's Old Testament Trinity was completed in this period in 1411, 3 years after the Mongols had beseiged Moscow and had failed to conquer.

The Moscow period ended with the time of Peter the Great (1689-1725). The fourth, the Petersburgian Period, is considered by all to be the time of western decadence when the Byzantine culture of Russia so carefully nurtured for eight centuries began to fade. However the old traditions were kept alive by the Old Believers who saved many great ikons from destruction and continued to foster icongraphers who painted in the ancient style. The return of the Russian Icon into the general stream of cultural and religious life began to gain impetus soon after the disillusion with the West, its ideas, philosophy and culture trigered in part by Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812. The Renaissance of the Russian Spirit and culture was in full swing when World War I broke out. However, the restoration of icons and the rediscovery of the meaning of the icon continued through the war, the Revolution that followed and even to this day.
Eugene N. Trubetskoy's lectures on the icon appeared during the war, and the final one in the midst of the Revolution. Dedicated scientists, scholars and restorers continue to reveal the full beauty of the Russian icon, and with each day publish the results of their work. No longer is the icon obscured by incense smoke and the accretions of the dust and neglect of years. It had obscured the Russian icon as surely as the plaster of the Mohammedans had covered the mosaics of Haghia Sophia and of the many churches of Greece and Asia Minor. In our time the long and tedious process of uncovering continues, and with each day our appreciation of the glory and beauty of Byzantine art and architecture, and the very idea of Byzantium grows.

BYZANTINE CULTURE COMES TO AMERICA WITH THE IMMIGRANT

The second period of the introduction of Byzantine culture into American life began with the arrival of immigrants from countries wholly with the spere of Byzantine culture. In addition to Russia, these were the Russins, sometimes called Ruthenians, from the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Greeks, Serbians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Albanians, Syrians and Armenians. The immigrants brought their Byzantine culture with them within the context of their religious faith, all of them, those who were under the jurisdiction of Rome or under the Orthodox Patriarchates of the East, belonged to the Eastern Christian Byzantine tradition. They brought what they held dearest. The Churches they built were according to the architectural style of the village church. The icons were the family icons with which they were blessed on their journey to a new life in the New Land. The melodies they sang in their churches were those they learned at home. This first period was like the Kievan Period in Russia, a period of transplanting the culture they brought with them, creativity was limited to the area of imitation. However, the art and architecture that was being imitated was for the most part that which was in vogue at the time, and as in the Alaskan period, it was that of the period of western decadence.

It wasn't until the end of World War II that the Renaissance of the Byzantine Mosaic Art, the Russian Icon and the Serbian Fresco began to influence Byzantine culture in America. Such outstanding iconographers as Pimen Sofronoff, Ivan Diky, Andrew Bitsenko, Mattew Von. Reutlinger and C. Youssis immigrated to America and began to decorate new Churches and renovate old ones.

Today in America one can find Churches built in the Russian, Greek, Serbian, Macedonian, Rumanian, Ukranian, Armenian and Syrian styles. Some of these are mere copies of great Churches, Haghia Sophia, Ochrida, Gracanica, the style of Novgorod, or of the Churches of Kishi, or of the villages churches of the Carpathians, Bukovinian and Galician. There are also creative new designs Byzantine in spirit, but wholly American in conception. One can see that the beginnings of what can be called an American Byzantine Art and Architecture are clearly discernible. Time alone will tell whether it will be a new flowering of Byzantine culture, or a period of decadence.

IRISH AMERICANS AS SEEN BY VARIOUS AMERICANS
Writers
by
Robert E. Connelly
Working Paper

Any Irish who left their homeland to come to America in steerage between the years 1846-1855 had no choice if they wished to survive; for surely those who did not attempt to leave would have died. It is a sign of their courage, for many of them who attempted to cross knew they would not make it; thousands would not establish roots in America. Death was everywhere.

The abominations began before the emigrants reached the great Atlantic: on crossing from Ireland to Liverpool the emigrants suffered worse than animals. Cattle and pigs were better treated.

In the heinous Atlantic crossing every indignity that could have befallen the emigrants befell them. Indeed convict ships were better. The emigrants were poor and weak and ignorant. The intelligent and wealthy and strong had no reasons to leave Ireland. Donald S. Connery in The Irish tells of the condition of Ireland at this time:

> The island's population had risen to well over eight million persons. Vast numbers existed on little more than potatoes grown on stony patches of land owned by absentee landlords. Beginning in 1845, Ireland was struck by potato blight. During the several years of the Great Famine, which was made worse by cruel evictions of families from their cottages, some one and a half million people died of hunger and disease, while a million more fled on the "coffin ships" to North America. Emigration continued at such a pace that by the end of the century Ireland's pre-Famine population had been cut nearly in half.[1]

We no longer shall be concerned with why the Irish left their shores, but what happened to them after they reached the shores of North American and became the hyphenated Irish-Americans. This paper attempts to show how various authors attempted to capture the joys and the struggles of the Irish emigrants' attempt to rise above their most squalid beginnings and to take their share of the American dream.

Obviously consideration could not be given to every writer who has ever written about Irish-American. John O'Hara has been excluded because this is not his particular province,an occasional story. More strikingly, perhaps for some, J.F. Powers (there are those who contend that he is the best Catholic writer in the United States) because he is too specialized. In his excellent novel and short stories his primary concern is the triumph and despair of Roman Catholic relegious (not all Irish). Others have been omitted for poor writing (one has yet to write a good Irish policeman novel), others have been omitted because of the paper's length.

Included are Eugene O'Neill's A Touch of the Poet which shows us the fallen Irish aristocracy in America; John Marquand's The Late George Apley tells us how the Boston Brahmims reacted to the Irish horde; Betty Smith's A Tree Grows in Brooklyn and James T. Farrell's three Studs Lonigan novels and five Danny O'Neill novels show the Irish peasants and the middle class struggle to survive; Edwin O'Connor in Edge of Sadness give us both Irish clergy and an Irish patriarch; in Edwin O'Connor's The Last Hurrah we have the definitive novel on Irish politicians; Henry Morton Robinson in The Cardinal shows a New England priest's rise to that exalted rank,while Tome McHale brings us the wealthy Irish Catholics of Philadelphia. Our authors cover time periods from 1828-1970.

Obviously these works vary in quality. O'Neill is in the genius class. Marquand and O'Connor are extremely competent craftmen who know well their trade and usually do excellent work. *The Late George Apley* and *The Last Hurrah* will survive; both novelists have captured their milieus brilliantly. *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* and *The Cardinal* are weak novels, popular when first published. Robinson's is the weaker of the two; I seriously doubt if either will survive the test of time. James T. Farrell, the most bitter, the most dark, will be read as long as men read. Although his (Farrell)stock is not too high currently, *Studs* will definitely survive, perhaps Danny. Tom McHale the newest and youngest of the group has produced a novel that I personally enjoyed and reviewed favorably a few years back in a radio review in spite of its serious flaws. (There is no flawless novel.) Its major weaknesses are slip shod writing and its dearth of ideas about the Catholic Church, the war in Viet Nam, Irish mothers, etc. No one will ever accuse McHale of being an original thinker; and as I am sure even McHale must be tired of hearing, he is an author in desperate need of an editor.

Despite their differences in ability there is one thing, however, all these writers have in common: they write about the Catholic Irish American and his place in American society: peasant, policemen, priest, politician, prince, patriarch. John Kenneth Galbraith makes an excellent observation on the Irish in American fiction:

> The normal way of redressing injustice in a democracy is by recourse to political action. I am not sure that many of my generation thought of this possibility, but those who did saw a searing prospect. All of the high positions in the Commonwealth and all of the lesser ones were monopolized by the earlier arrivals. In the Executive the Curleys, Hurleys, and the Buckleys, form an unbroken phalanx. In the legislature there was a sprinkling of names like Saltonstall and Parkman, who differed from the dominant Irish only in being members of an even earlier migration. And one could not listen to the old Irish families without discovering that, like all aristocrats, they had a feeling of divine right. They had won their position of predominance by their own efforts and against the resistance of the yet earlier arrivals. It was now something to be defended without question, although not yet without indignation.

Obviously there was material here for a novel. Like the previous waves that, as maidservants, laborers, or textile hands, had come similarly into the culs-de-sac or onto the lower rungs of the social ladder, we teaching assistants and instructors were there voluntarily. But the sensitive among us could not but see that in our neglect, exploitation, and exclusion from the major opportunities of the community we were paying heavily for our chances. No one ever did write a novel about us or about the French-Canadians, Poles, Italians, or Jews who at one time or another also suffered the sorrows of the uprooted around Boston. The reason is that all the available writers have always been writing about the Irish. Old and superbly established though they were theirs continued to be the only problem in the movement and rehabilitation that aroused any interest. When Italians or Poles were unloaded on the beach nothing much had been assumed to happen. But for the Irish this had been an experience of infinite complexity and lasting sadness. It would be going too far to say that novelists feel that only the Irish have soul. Yet certainly they feel that the Irish soul is an exceptionally sensitive and friable organ that provides unlimited opportunity for study. The suspectibility of the Irish soul to more or less permanent damage has also impressed the political scientists. To this day in Massachusetts, no one would dream of discussing politics in a learned way without going into the continuing consequences of the cold shoulder of the Irish immigrants were accorded by the Yankees a century ago. That's one great grandfather came in after the famine and had a very hard time is only a little short of being admissible evidence for the defense in a trial for highway fraud. The clustering around the Church, the closing of the ranks against the outsider, the loyalty the old sod, the difficult upward path, the occasional escape to the world outside--all of this has been material for scores of grand yarns and dozens of deeply perceptive books. On this point, it is doubtful that any subject in American letters, with the possible exception of the plight of the post-bellum South, has given sensitive writers a deeper feeling of their worth."

So let us turn to the grand yarns and deeply perceptive books that were germinated in the megalopolises of Boston, Chicago, Brooklyn and Philadelphia. Here the Irish-Americans made their homes.

There were some Irish who came here before the Great Famine struck Ireland; these Irish Americans can be found in Eugene O'Neill's A Touch of the Poet which takes place seventeen years before the great immigration (1828). Con Melody with his wife Nora and their daughter Sara are reduced to running Melody's Tavern, in a village a few miles from Boston. The tavern has seen more prosperous days as has its owners. Con Melody at first does not accept his current destitution; he can not forget that he was once a gentleman and an officer who served under the Duke of Wellington at the battle of Talvera. Nora and Sara work themselves unceasingly so Con can put on his grand airs as a gentleman; Nora does it willingly, Sara begrudgingly. Sara despises Con for his failure to face reality; he is not a landed aristocrat.

Nora rebukes her daughter: "It's no lie. He is a gentleman. Wasn't he born rich in a castle on a grand estate and educated in college, and wasn't he an officer in the Duke of Wellington's army--"

Con Melody considers himself above the local Irish. Later Nora tells Sara: "I'm worried about your father. Father Flynn stopped me on the road yesterday and told me I'd better warn him not to sneer at the Irish around here and call thim scum, or he'll get in trouble. Most of thim is in a rage at him because he's come out against Jackson and the Democrats and says he'll vote with the Yankees for Quincy Adams."

Sara replies: Faith, they can't see a joke, then, for it's a great joke to hear him shout against mob rule, like one of the Yankee gentry, when you know what he came from. And after the way the Yanks swindled him when he came here, getting him to buy this inn by telling him a new coach line was going to stop here."

Major Meldoy is constantly drunk. At one point he accuses his wife of wanting him to get drunk; she denies this. He asks her pardon, and he starts to read his paper again, scowls at something--disdainfully, emphasizing his misquote of the line from Byron: "There shall he rot--Ambition's dishonored fool!" The paper is full of the latest swindling lies of that idol of the riffraff, Andrew Jackson. Contemptible, drunken scoundrel! But he will be the next President, I predict, for all we others can do to prevent. There is a cursed destiny in these decadent times. Everywhere the scum rises to the top."

Sara realizes that the only way she can escape her present drudgery is to marry Simon Harford who is Yankee gentry; Simon is being nursed back to health by Sara after he was taken ill in his cabin by the lake on Melody land while he was writing a book. Even if she must seduce him she will get him to marry her. Simon's life style is very much in the manner of Henry David Thoreau while at Walden.

When Melody informs Sara that he knows she is in love with young Simon he informs her that young Simon pleases him and that Simon's people "will pass muster."

Sara: "Oh, do you? That's nice!"

Melody: "Apparently, his father is a gentleman — that is, by Yankee standards, insofar as one in trade can lay claims to the title. But as I've become an American citizen myself, I suppose it would be downright snobbery to hold to old world standards."

Later Sara reminds her father: "I suppose it would never occur to you that old Harford might not think it an honor to have his son marry your daughter."

Melody: "No, it would never occur to me — and if it should occur to him, I would damn soon disabuse his mind. Who is he but a money-grubbing trader? I would remind him that I was born in a castle and there was a time when I possessed wealth and position, and an estate compared to which any Yankee upstart's home in this country is a hovel stuck in a cabbage patch. I would remind him that you, my daughter, were born in a castle."

Of course, the Yankee Harfords shattered all of Con Melody's illusions after he is outrageously humiliated when he goes to fight a duel, against Sara's wishes, over her good name; but there are other ways of humiliation, for example, in Boston in a more subtle way.

As far as the millionaire Apley family was concerned the Irish of some years later were certainly no better than those of 1828. The Apleys were old stock; "The first American Apley, Thomas, known in the town records as "Goodman Apley," settled in Roxbury in the year 1636." The Apleys are obviously Boston Brahmins; they should not and would not marry outside their class. In the year 1887 twenty-one year old George Apley fell in love with Mary Monahan. Mr. Willing who has been commissioned by Apley's son John to write an honest biography says of this epidose:

> For reasons too obvious to be specified, any letters which George Apley may have received from the young woman, Mary Monahan, are not at present in existence, but information gathered from conversation and correspondence with members of the family and friends gives one a glimpse of this young woman who appears so abruptly in Apley's life. This glimpse, it must be admitted reflects on George Apley's taste, granting the impossible elements of this escapade. It appears that the Monahans, in their class, were respectable. The girl's grandfather, a small farmer who held title to his own land in County Galway, left hurriedly for America for political reasons during one of these abortive revolutionary efforts near the middle of the last century. The girl's father, a contractor, who had inherited the family's political proclivities, was in a position regarded as comfortable by many of his nationality in South Boston. There was, it appears, a sufficient amount of attractiveness in this family circle to appeal to some weakness in George Apley's makeup, for there is no doubt that on many occasions he found actual relaxation at this girl's home. It may have been that George Apley's athletic prowess furnished him an additional entree, in that further correspondence reveals

> that the Monahans were personal friends of the notorious pugilist John L. Sullivan.

As for the girl herself, she appears to have been superior to her class, even to the extent of being sought after by a young attorney and by a son of a member of the City Council . . ., Miss Monahan had many of the externals of a young person of a higher position. She was well and quietly dressed, and of a striking beauty that was more romantic than vulgar. Her figure was slender, as were hands, and ankles, her features delicate and interesting, her hair dark, her eyes deep violet. Her manners were quiet and polite; she was even mistaken once, when George Apley was seen walking with her on Commonwealth Avenue, for a visiting Baltimore belle. It need scarcely be pointed out that all these favorable attributes only served to lend the affair most serious complications." Willing further writes: The language in which these letters are couched betrays only too clearly the seriousness of George Apley's infatuation. Many passages must be left out for delicacy, as they might probe too intimately into the secrets of a high-minded idealist. It is certain that his intentions in this direction were always of the most honorable, and if latitude was offered by the young Monahan woman, that he took no advantage, of it. This is the one pleasing aspect which obviously could not be of a long duration.

Despite all his protestations of love young George Apley was given the standard cure: a trip abroad. It worked.

If the Apley family disdained the Monahans their reaction to that of the Nolans, the Lonigans, the O'Neills, the Fermoyles, the Skeffingtons was that of royalty stepping on bugs. These were the great unwashed; these struggled for ascendancy. The Apleys were interested in that struggle in so far as it did not rob them of their wealth and power.

James T. Farrell shows the struggle most horrifyingly; one may find him too grim, but no one can accuse him of not telling the truth. In the early 1920's, in Chicago, at the age of three Danny O'Neill (Farrell himself most likely) was taken from his home because his parents could not support him; he lived with his maternal grandparents, two maiden aunts and a bachelor uncle, in a family named O'Flaherty; they were able to protect their foothold in the middle class and when it was endangered they were in a position to move to a better neighborhood. At the age of seven Danny lived with his relatives on Fifty-first Street; his mother and father lived with the rest of the brood on LaSalle Street. Twenty-five blocks made the difference between heaven and hell. Heaven equalled electric lights, hot water, and indoor plumbing; hell equalled kerosense lamps, cold lamps, cold water from a single kitchen tap, a stinky communal outdoor privy with Negro neighbors.

Jim and Lizz O'Neill tried to improve their lot. Three years later in 1914 we find them in a cottage at Forty-fifth Street and Wentworth Avenue. Lizz O'Neill a slob, enjoyed her own yard, "not a yard to be shared with niggers like the one at Twenty-fifth and LaSalle." The new place was not much better than the old one. It was still a dump surrounded by "old wooden cottages, narrow sidewalks, dirt, garbage, wooden paving blocks."

Occasionally ten year old Danny spent a night in his parents' house.

* Professor Nelson Blake's excellent studies Novelists' America.
Proved invaluable in working with James T. Farrell.

It was an ugly experience. There were three kids to a bed, one across the foot. "There was no room in the bed. He didn't like the darkness. He didn't like the smell of the room. The smell of the room was very different from the smell of the bedroom where he slept at home. The smell here was musty, and it made him feel dirty. He didn't know what made the smell except the bed and the dirty sheets and blankets, and it was musty." For Danny there was one thing worse than the smell. "He scratched his legs again, and it felt as if he had scratched a bite until it was bleeding. In summer at home, mosquitoes did that, but never in winter. It must be bedbugs they had." The O'Neills rarely had meat, perhaps on payday. The punishment for grabbing too much meat was the razor strap from the old man. The O'Neills were not the only ones who went hungry.

The Nolan family of A Trees Grows in Brooklyn in 1912 had it just as bad except that the Nolan home was clean. Katie Nolan the mother unlike Lizz O'Neill was not a slob. At times the Nolans were so hungry "they could have digested nails had they been able to chew them." The Nolans consisted of Katie a hard working mother, Johnny a handsome singing waiter father and a drunk; and eventually three children. Francie, Neeley and Laurie are young children when the novel opens; the novel really belongs to Francie. The Nolans sustained themselves on stale bread and what amazing things Katie could make from it. Francie was the one who went for the bread:

> "Losher's bread factory supplied the neighborhood stores. The bread was not wrapped in wax paper and grew stale quickly. Losher's redeemed the stale bread from the dealers and sold it at half price to the poor. . . . Some kids tucked the bread under their arms and walked home brazenly letting all the world know that they were poor. The proud ones wrapped up the bread, some in old newspapers, others in clean or dirty flour sacks. Francie brought along a large paper."

If Dan O'Neill had bed bugs to contend with Francie Nolan had another kind:

> Packed closely together, the children innocently bred vermin and became lousy from each other. Through no fault of their own, they were subjected to the most humiliating procedure that a child could go through.

Once a week, the school nurse came and stationed herself with her back to the window. The little girls lined up and then they came to her, turned around, lifted their heavy braids and bent over. Nurse probed about the hair with a long thin stick. If lice or nits were in evidence, the little one was told to stand aside. At the end of the examination, the pariahs were made to stand before the class while Nurse gave a lecture about how filthy those little girls were and how they had to be shunned. The untouchables were then dismissed for the day with instructions to get "blue oniment" from Knipe's Drug Store and have their mothers treat their head. When they returned to school, they were tomented by their peers. Each offender would have an escort of children following her home, chanting:

"Lousy, ye'r lousy! Teacher said ye'r lousy. Hadda go home, hadda go home, hadda go home because ye'r lousy."

Katie Nolan realized her plight. She speaks of her children.

> They think they're lucky that they're living and that it's Christmas again. They can't see that we live in a dirty street in a dirty house among people who aren't much good. Johnny and the children can't see how pitiful it is that our neighbors have to make happiness out of this filth and dirt. My children must get out of this.

Jim O'Neill felt the same way, wanted to get out, but he himself did not succeed. His health collapsed, one stroke followed by another; he became paralytic,and unemployable. Humiliations overwhelmed him. The gift of a Christmas basket of food from two patronizing Protestant ladies was the worst. "I have sunk so low, haven't I?" Jim said, his words throbbing, his voice on the verge of breaking, while he and Danny saw the women get into their automobiles and drive off.

Danny O'Neill like Francie Nolan never forgot what his parents suffered. Jim O'Neill passed on the year Danny was graduated from high school, 1923. Danny " . . . told himself that his father was a man who'd never had a chance. His father had been a strong man, and a proud man, and he had seen that pride broken, and it had been a very sad spectacle to witness."

True not everyone was as poor as the Nolans and the O'Neills. Some had left the ranks of the peasantry to rise to the middle class. Such were the Lonigans and O'Flahertys of Chicago and the Fermoyles of Boston.

The novel in which Din Fermoyle appears covers the time span from 1915 to the outbreak of World War II. Din Fermoyle lived in Boston with his wife and six offspring; Din was a devout Irish Catholic motorman who ran the trolleys in Boston. When the novels opens, one reads:

> Din's soul magnified the Lord as he reached the last house at the top of the street. Boxy, brown, and graceless with its ugly front stoop, 47 Woodlawn Avenue was a whole house, not a flat, and after living in it for almost twenty-five years, Din almost owned it. By scrimping and denial, by putting a dollar a week into the Building and Loan Bank for fifteen years, he had eighteen hundred dollars on the line. There was still a twelve-hundred dollar mortgage. Easier for a camel to enter a needle's eye than for a motorman with six children to get title free and clear to his own home.

Al O'Flaherty was a wholesale shoe salesman, and Paddiy Lonigan was a painting contractor. Each wanted to improve his lot; each wanted to make a better life than what his parents had; each wanted to give his children or related offspring what he did not have. The children did not always turn out to be a blessing, more often than not they brought bitter anguish to their parents. For bachelor Al O'Flaherty, Danny O'Neill was the center of his attention. His ambitions for the boy were those of the Irish middle class: the Route to success: lawyer, and politician. The dream usually went this way:

> The boy, yes, he would get all that Al O'Flaherty had never been able to get, a college education. He could see them together at, say, an O. of C. fourth degree banquet, or going to church on Sunday morning, people pointing the boy out, saying that there was smart young fellow who was

> beginning to amount to something." Danny turned out to be a disappoinment for his Uncle. The college education that was to do so much did just the opposite as far as Al was concerned. Danny O'Neill lost his faith in the Roman Catholic Church and the hustler philosophy of good business men. These were his Uncle Al's major pillars of support. Al who believed in capitalism had some angry blows coming to him; the factory whose wares he had peddled for so many years and in which he had invested most of his savings eventually closed. Al lost out and this time started afresh in California at middle age.

Things were tougher for Paddy Lonigan, Stud's father, than for Al. Paddy was successful as a painting contractor; he had given his family the amenties of the middle class, had invested his savings in an apartment building. The Lonigans were able to move easily from one middle class neighborhood to another as the old ones deteriorated. Paddy was pleased with his own success when he remembered his own childhood.

> Often there had not been enough to eat in the house. Many's the winter day he and his brother had to stay home from school because they had no shoes. The old house, it was more like a barn or a shack than a home, was so cold they had to sleep in their clothes; sometimes in those zero Chicago winters his old man slept in his overcoat..

Paddy and Mary felt they had done right by their children. They had been good parents.

> They had given the kids a good home, fed and clothed them, sent them to Catholic schools to be educated, seen that they performed their religious duties, hustled them off to confessions regularly, given them money for the collection, never aloowed them to miss mass, even in the winter, let them play properly so they'd be healthy, given them money for good clean amusements like the movies because they were also educational, done everything a parent can do for a child.

Life in the end was not kind to Paddy Lonigan and he demanded to know why he got a fate he did not deserve. Everything was for nought. Studs put himself into an early grave, Martin the second son was going the same way, and he lost everything during the Great Depression. "And he and Mary, after all their work and struggle, must come to such misery in their old age, be reduced almost to the state of paupers. It wasn't right. It wasn't fair. He had done nothing to merit this punishment. Why, why was it?" He received no answers.

The church had a tremendous influence on the lives of the Lonigans and the O'Neills and the Nolans and the Fermoyles, but the strong faith of the later 1800s and early 1900s turns out to be a different type of faith at the end of the Twentieth century. We read in A Tree Grows in Brooklyn:

> The Church was smoky with incense and guttering candles. The nuns had put fresh flowers on the alter. The Blessed Mother's altar had the nicest flowers. She was more popular with the sisters than either Jesus or Joseph. People were lined upside outside the confessionals. The girls and fellows wanted to get it over with before they went out on their dates. The line was the longest at Father O'Flynn's cubicle. He was young, kind, tolerant, and easy on the penance."

Later we read,

> "Francie believed with all her heart that the altar was Calvary and that aging Jesus was offered up as a sacrifice. As she listened to the consecrations, one for His Body and one for His Blood, she believed that the words of the priest were a sword which mystically separated the Blood for the Body. And she knew, without knowing how to explain why, that Jesus was entirely present, Body, Blood, Soul, and Divinty in the wine in the golden chalice and in the bread on the golden plate.
>
> "It's a beautiful religion," she mused, "and I wish I understood it more. No,I don't want to understand it at all. It's beautiful because it's always a mystery, like God himself is a mystery. Sometimes I say I don't believe in God. But I only say that I don't believe in God. But I only say that when I'm mad at him . . . . Because I do! I do! I believe in God and Jesus and Mary. I'm a bad Catholic because I miss mass once in awhile and I grumble when, at confession, I get a heavy penance for something I couldn't help doing. But good or bad, I am a Catholic and I'll never be anything else.
>
> Of course, I didn't ask to be born Catholic no more than I asked to be born American. But I'm glad it turned out that I'm both these things."[2]

While Francie is grateful for her gift of Faith, Father Steve Fermoyle a parish curate who ulitamately becomesa prince of the Church carries on this dialogue with young boys studying cathechism. The year is 1915 Father Fermoyle:

> "Well, Charlie, can Protestants go to heaven?"
>
> "Of course not, Father," said Charlie. "Everyone knows"--his voice broke in comical adolescent droak--"that only Catholics are let in."

Father Steve nodded solemnly at the upturned faces. "Do you all believe what Charlie says?"

"Yes, Father," came the obedient chorus.

"Sorry," said Steve, "but you're all wrong. No matter what you've hears elsewhere, the Catholic church teaches that anyone--Protestant, Jew, or Mohammedanwho sincerely believes in his own religion, and who lives up to its teachings, can get to heaven."

The boys heard what Father Fermoyle said, and they saw that he meant it. But they were still not convinced. After he had gone, Charlie Boyle spoke for the lot of them by mumbling. "If it's true like he says--that any old hard-shell Baptist can get into heaven-what's the use of going to all this trouble to be a Catholic?"

But then everyone has misconceptions. In that very same town, at the very same time, Mr. Ralph Waldo Bailey as a freethinker and staunch follower of Ingersoll "had two ideas about the Romish clergy" (1) maidens were ravished in the confessional by priests; (2) maidens were ravished by priests.". There is no doubt that the world of Fifty-eight Street in Chicago had for its center the Roman Catholic Church. After Stud's graduation from St. Patrick's grade school the Lonigans exchanged greetings with the Reilleys. There was nothing better than being Catholic. "And isn't the Catholic Church the grand thing?" Mrs. Reilly repeated and the Lonigans agreed every time.

"And isn't it the truth," Mrs. Reilly rambled on, "that a mother did not worry when she sends her byes and girls to the good sisters, the holy virgins."

The byes and the girls were caught in the desperate struggle between good and evil, and many times with the boys evil won out. The Irish Catholic boys had no misconceptions about their concupiscence, but we are told by one of Stud's friends that the Irish girls were another cup of tea. At fourteen and ten years later Stud and his friends still held to the conviction that Catholic girls were a breed apart. Red Kelly expressed the communal feeling: "No sir, you get a good Catholic girl, who had a decent home, the right kind of parents, and fear of god in her, like Stud's sisters, and they're decent, they're fine, they're among the finest things you can find in life." However if it appeared that the impossible was about to happen, there were solutions: "The old man to give her his razor strap, and the old man or brother or somebody to give the clouts to the guys that try and fool around with her." At least one of the whores in the Cannonball Inn which Studs and his crowd frequently did not believe the Irish girls were superior in virtue. ". . . I'm sick of these guys coming here and telling me I'm a whore and not as good as their goddamn wives, and sisters, and sweethearts."

Studs Lonigan sinner that he was was loyal to Roman ". . .he told himself that the Church was One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, built upon the rock of Peter, and that it would last until Judgment Day. Yes, he was glad, damn glad, that he had been born on the night of the fence."

Their families often pressured them to stay on the right side of the fence. In Boston young Mona Fermoule is being pressured to break up her romance with her young Jewish boyfriend, Benny. Her priest brother Steve talks to her.

> Like a captive birdbird, Mona struggled in her brother's arms. She was caught in a net of affection and authority that she lacked the strength to break. "I can't give him up. I'll die if I do," she wept. But Stephen felt the weakening flutters of her resistance. He pitied the frail child, but Celia Fermoyle's voice was at his ear. "Wring the promise out of her--for my sake and her own."

"Say that you'll give him up. Promise me Monny."

In a burst of weeping, Mona tore the promise from her heart.

Celia was awaiting at the bottom of the stairs when Stephen came down.

"She promised, Mother," he said.

"God will bless you for this, Son."

But as Stephen walked down Woodlawn Avenue that night he doubted that God's blessing or any other would flow from the violent would he had inflicted on his sister's soul.

In Boston at a later date Father Hugh Kennedy is amazed at how little is really known about the Church by the young. Father Kennedy is in an ante-chamber waiting to be called into see old Charley Carmody, Boston Catholic Irish patriarch, "celebrated miser," "the meanest man that ever drew on a pair of trousers on," whom death approaches. A Franciscan enters Charley Carmody's room to administer the sacrament of Extreme Unction. Charley Carmosy's grandson, a budding politician of the JFK stripe, does not know what order the priest belongs to. Father Kennedy thinks.

> "I felt disconcerted and somewhat embarrassed, in the way you do when, occasionally, you come upon a totally unexpected gap in someone's knowledge--a gap you simply feel had no right to be there. Not that a Franciscan is so absolutely unmistakable, but it would never have occurred to me that anyone here, in this room, would not have known one when he saw one. The older people, certainly, would have known in a glance. But Ted had not known; he had even come through with the absurd "Carthusians"; and this, coupled with his earlier observations about the last rites, made me wonder now if he were not far from the older generations in more ways than I had at first suspected."

If Father Kennedy had lived in Philadelphia during the period of the Viet Nam war his wonderment would have been far greater. Arthur Farragan, middle-aged, wealthy, Irish Catholic has his own views on the gift of the faith. While Arthur is at St. Blaise's monastery in the Poconos (to give him an alibi while he is supposedly on his way to murder his anti-war son Simon in Canada,) Arthur is peppered with questions about the faith from a possible convert:

> "From early afternoon until well into sunset, Farragan was piled with a list of baffling questions on the theological intricacies of the religion that was by now more part of his marrow than his mind, so much did he take it for granted. Given to him by his parents, it coursed through the blood, for his purposes, much like the integralness of the Rh factor he had also inherited from them. To hell with proselytizing and the casting of nets after the likes of this ardent seeker beside him: The True Church was better extended through the blood, he thought. Then he was caused to remember Simon receiving the gift of faith from his father, he had not even bothered to open the package before Farragan

> got it back in his face."

Along with Arthur there are others also who are not as appreciative of the gift of faith. Says one member of the Knights of Columbus: "If I had to do it all over again, I think I would have raised the lot of my kids Quaker and let it go at that."

Say a milkman-fellow Knight. "It's always the educated ones like you, Welsh, that heresy's rash breaks out on," Fitzpatrick said. "I don't see what the hell good it did you and Arthur to get graduated from Georgetown if you end up talkin' like that."

A popular service in the Church was missions. A mission can be defined simply as a course of sermons to quicken the faith. Missions in which the popular Father Shannon noted for his Irish wit and Irish eloquence could attract parishoners in great numbers to Father Gilhooley's parish of At. Patrick's, Chicago, where he attacked jazz, atheism, free-love, companionate marriage, birth control, divorce, secular education, and such individuals as Sinclair Lewis, H.L. Mencken, H.G. Wells, and Judge Ben Lindsay. Father Shannon's sermons went over well, but when it came to sex and booze his young hearers did not quite understand the message.

Muriel Farragan the wife of Arthur remembers another kind of mission. All fire and brimstone. At the bier of her brother-in-law Jim she wonders if he might not be in hell. Muriel shocks her husband and sister-in-law and ignores some theologizing by her other brother-in-law Father Edmund who tries to put his brother in heaven with the angels:

> "But Arthur," Muriel went right on, "don't you remember that Benedictine priest who used to come to Saint Theresa's parish to give the mission? I can't remember his name. But each time he preached about dying unprepared in mortal sin. Remember that story he used to tell us about the locomotive enginneer in the nineteen thirties who beat his wife, then went to work and drove his engine straight into another was was on the same track at sixty-five miles per hour. Oh Margaret," she turned to grasp the arm of her sister-in-law, who looked as is she were about to topple over in faint, "I was terrified. I can still hear the Benedictine standing on the altar screaming like the engineer when the boiler burst and he was being scalded to death. He tasted the punishment of his Eternity even in the last few seconds of his life, the priest used to say. Don't you remember, Arthur?"

After denying this story vehemently, "Spent Farragan burried his face in his hands rather than have to look again at Margaret. But indeed he did remember the Benedictine's story, and on the instant resolved the very next morning to begin making daily confession in preparation for the possibility of his own death. This was the merciless part of their communal religion" there might be a Hell. There had to be something. No Farragan anywhere had ever been raised to believe one could get off in life absolutely scot-free--their mother had seen to that."

In these writings there are all sorts of Irish mothers. There are those like Katie Nolan. "It's come at last," she thought, "the time when you can no longer stand between your children and heartache. When there wasn't enough food in the house you pretended that you weren't hungry so they could have more. In the cold of a winter's night you got up and put your blanket on their bed so they wouldn't be cold. You'd kill anyone who tried to harm them. . . ."

I'll fetch your beer in a Jiffy, Din. Let me clear the sink for you first." Celia Fermoyle was a good cook and a thrifty manager, but she did not place a high value on neatness." The most pathetic mother of all was poor, bedeviled Lizz O'Neill.

Frank Skeffington the main character of The Last Hurrah and master politician who is seeking re-election as mayor of Boston speaks of his mother. The time is late 1800s or early 1900s.

> "You have to remember the existing conditions: they weren't exactly all they might have been. Our people were immigrants and they were poor; the men worked on the docks and the women worked in the kitchens. Their employees were naturally eager to help them; they decided they could help them best by keeping them poor, free of the terrible temptations that torment the well-to-do. Maids and cooks were paid next to nothing; when they went home at night to their families, they'd sometimes take a banana or two with them. Everybody did it, everybody knew about it, and I don't imagine anybody thought about it was one of the sins that crieth to heaven for vengeance. But Caleb Force was a rich man and rich men don't become rich by giving away bananas, so when your grandmother was apprehended by a loyal butler, leaving the house with a grapefruit and a small jar of jelly, Caleb decided to make an example of her. He did, too. He fired her himself, in front of his family and all the other servants, whom he had thoughtfully summoned for the occasion. He sent her packing, after first reminding her that in addition to being a thief, she was guilty of ingratitude, to a fine employer who had used her well."

There is another kind of a mother. "Muriel," Farragan said, "we can't be talking like this about her on the very day she was laid away."

"I can, Arthur. Now, for the first time in eighteen years I'm able to say it: your mother was a goddamn-A-number-one bitch!"

Jedda Farragan, Arthur's mother, reveals how she was the brains behind the Zephyr Motor Company and the Faragan fortune:

> "It was me who got him goin' in the construction business, Arthur," she told him, the brogue rushing back into her voice. "Your old man was a lazy swine and would've been content to go in bein' a bricklayer and Saturday-night drunk for the rest of his life if I hadn't gotten him that loan for equipment. Thanks be to God, the guy died and there was no one left to collect what was owed to him." She had winked slyly.

"You' always been a good mother to us. You'd lie and steal and beg to keep us in food and clothing if you had to," Farragan the Son had exalted her, for the drink was already up to that level.

"Don't think for one moment that I haven't, Arthur. I've done all of those things you suggested. And more. It was me who told your old man to grab up those trucks when the company went bad from mismanagement, and me who finagled contracts during the Depression when others couldn't even put gas in their tanks. All I can say is that it's damn lucky the war came along and made him rich despite himself. My strength was giving out around forty-one from keepin' that man on his feet."

Jedda Farragan sent her son Stephen who was violently opposed to war because he was homosexual; he was killed. "Maybe I did send him out to die," she had screeched at her husband in the forest of white crosses. "Let him be dead rather than trying to have us live with that for the rest of our days. There was something wrong with his mind. He was sick. God knows I didn't raise him to be like that."

The Irish American was forced to learn a good deal about sex, but the unsophiscated learned it in the streets. In Brooklyn,

> "If normal sex was a great mystery in the neighborhood, criminal sex was an open book. In all poor and congested city areas, the prowling sex fiend is a nightmarish horror that haunts parents. There seems to be one in every neighborhood. There was one in Williamsburg in that year when Francie turned fourteen. For a long time, he had been molesting little girls, and although the police were on a continual outlook for him, he was never caught. One of the reasons was that when a little girl was attacked, the parents kept it secret so that no one would know and discriminate against the child and look on her as a thing apart and make it impossible for her to resume a normal childhood with her playmates.
>
> One day, a little girl on Francie's block was killed and it had to come out in the open."

In Brooklyn, there was a sexually frustrated female principal who detrousered young boys; she derived great satisfaction from beating their bare buttocks; there was a violin teacher with a foot fetish. There were brothels in Boston with Irish madames; there were beaches in New Jersey were homosexual acts took place, but nothing could compare to the pool rooms of Chicago. These places became the anti-Church; these youth center of Chicago were totally corrupting. Sex and booze were the constant subjects.

In the land of the Lonigans and the O'Neills innocence did not last long, sometimes it "ended" at the age of four. At the age of seven Danny O'Neill's brother Bill eleven told him in Frank terms but definite details how fathers and mothers made babies. Danny got further confirmation from his sister Margaret who was four; Margaret slept at the foot of her parents' bed. "How do you know Papa and Mama do that?" Danny demanded skeptically, and she answered, "I saw them in bed when they thought I was sleeping."

Studs Lonigan lost his innocence at the age of fourteen. (Fourteen appears to be the most popular age for novelists in this group to introduce children to sex); he is forever into sex, and eventually contacts a venereal disease from a girl who he thought was a virgin. Many years later at an infamous New Year's Eve party which indirectly leads to Studs's weak heart and ultimate death, a pick up who refused to copulate with Weary Reilley was beaten so badly by him she could not walk for the rest of her life. Weary for this got ten years in prison; none of Studs's crowd had any sympathy for him. Sex was not a joyous occasion for the boys of Fifty-eight Street.

If sex was a problem, booze was a bigger one. From the Melodys to the Farragans alcohol struck home. "They (the Neighbors) admitted that, no matter which way you looked at it, Johnny Nolan (Francie's father) was a handsome, lovable fellow far superior to any man on the block. But he was a drunk. That's what they said and it was true."

Some of the Irish of Chicago's South Side had a weakness for the bottle, too. Jim O'Neill, Paddy Lonigan, Margaret O'Flaherty, Studs Lonigan, only to name a few. Eventually what compounded the problem was Prohibition. Studs knew: "The stuff was generally strong enough to corrode a cast-iron gut. It was canned heat, rot-gut, furniture varnish, rat poision. When you drank it, you took your life into your hands, and even if it didn t kill you, it might make you blind, or put your heart, liver, guts or Kidneys on the fritz for life."

But the poor alone were not the only ones affected by the suds; it affected the wealthy, too. Jedda Farragan and her daughter Anna; Jedda would not touch a drop in her own home but would return to the ghetto from whence she came to tie on a monthly drunk. Her daughter Anna is more sophiscated. Arthur knows this.

> "The wonder of it was that at fifty-five she always got herself back into some reasonable kind of condition the next day."

"Look pretty bad, do I?" Anna asked him ruefully.

"I'm not accustomed to seeing you so early in the morning," he told her, taking a seat and pouring himself a cup of coffee.

"Nor many others, thank God. The greatest comfort of my old age is the five P.M. Mass on Sundays. It gives me the whole day to pound myself back into shape."

"Why did you have to go off on such a toot?"

Father Hugh Kennedy of Boston who tells The Edge of Sadness is being sent away for the cure; a pastor who failed because of drink. The German bishop of his diocese gives sound advice

> ". . . . But I think it does no harm to talk to someone who understands drinking. A doctor. Or Father Leary. He's a sensible man. Not brilliant, but sensible, practical. I have the feeling he knows what he's talking about. He drank heavily himself at one time. A bad situation. But he got out of it and since then he's been helping a few of the priests here in the diocese. You see, you're not unique, Father."

> The low voice seemed to grow more remote; he said, "These things happen. Why, I don't know. Loneliness, I suspect, as much as anything else. They forget what they . . .' Father Hugh Kennedy recovers eventually from alcoholism.

The priests in the Irish-American novel go from the very devout to the very irreligious, from brilliant to stupid, from delighting in their priesthood to their loathing of it. The weakest priest in character is from The Cardinal development. Father Steve Fermoyle is so aptly described by Father Kennedy when he thinks of the movie priests. "His smile was compassionate but powerful: one had the feeling that here was a mystic from some ecclesiastical gymnasium, a combination of Tarzan and St. John of the Cross. A saint, but all man.

Perhaps most tragic was Fatner John Carmody a disaffected priest still devout who could no longer minister to his flock; he speaks to Father Hugh Kennedy his life-long friend; both men are the same, fifty-five.

> "We all know what we're supposed to do: the shepherd-flock relationship. But, Hugh, what if the sheperd knows all this what if he understands exactly what his duties are, what if he realizes that in a very special way his flock is his responsibility and nobody's but his, and that it is the fact that the only reason he's where he is and what he is--what if he knows all this and tells himself all this at half-past seven every morning, just after he has finished saying Mass, just after thirty minutes of proclaiming--quite honestly, he thinks at the time--his own love of God, and what if he comes out of the side door of the church with every good intention in the world and suddenly he meets the flock in person? What if, then and there, he sees some old biddy streaking down the street towards him, her jaws already working, or he sees some poor old slob with his hat in his hand hanging around, waiting, outside the rectory door--what if the shepherd sees this and suddenly his stomach turns and all he can feel for his beloved flock is a total overwhelming disgust? Not apathy, not indifference, but disgust. Disgust for the whole whispering, confiding, sordid, sniveling lot! That's what the truth is, Hugh! It's not simply, as my father has so pleasantly broadcast to anyone who would listen, that I'm a 'cold proposition'; it is more than coldness now. It's that I can no longer stand the sight of them! They make me sick."

This is one priest's despair. There are other middle-aged priest who do not lament their fate. The young priest emerge very well within the pages of the authors' under consideration. Some priest never should have been ordained. Father Edmund of the Tirungians, a brother to Arthur Farragan, is one of them.

> "At forty-seven, Father Edmund was the wish fulfillment of their parents, neither of whom had the misfortune to live long enough to see what they had wrought: the family

> priest in a cage. The Farragans had needed a cleric to complete the pillars of their dynasty and sent detective priest out to find an order compatible with the recognized limited intelligence of Edmund."

Father Edmund is the lone cleric at St. Blaise; he goes to the Sportman's Club where he plays darts and billiards, dances with aging women and "drinks his ass under a table every night." Edmund in short is a whiskey priest.

If Studs Lonigan thought Father Gilhooley was worse than a kike because he was always asking for money he should have known Father William Monaghan of

> St. Mary's Church of Malden, Mass. He was commonly known as Dollar Bill. "If the fiscal part of William Monaghan's soul was somewhat over-developed, this could be traced to realistic causes. As a youth he had felt hunger to the marrow of his bones; but even more painfully he had felt the hatred and contempt in which his unpropertied kind, the South Boston Irish, were held by Boston Brahmins. Muckers, Micks, Harps, they were called, and their lot was to dig in the streets, drive garbage carts, or tend bars. Gradually he had seen his people climb the economic ladder to become policemen, firemen, motormen, and, after decades of struggle--lawyers, teachers, doctors. They had moved from South Boston, migrated to Dorchester and Roxbury, gained title to a house of their own. If Father Monaghan overvalued property, it was because the society in which he lived overvalued it, too. Ownership of something--that was the badge of membership. A house was a physical monument built on the rock of social acceptance. And a well-constructed church of Quincy granite or a prosperous parochial school of fine brick was an outward sign of substance that could not be blown down or whirled about by the winds of prejustice."

In the early 1900s parochial schools in Chicago were heavily attended and the students did not always have a healthy respect for the good nuns. Studs Lonigan reminiscences on leaving St. Patrick's grade school.

> It meant school, and school was a jailhouse that might just as well have had barred windows. It meant the long, wide, chalk-smelling room of the seventh-and eight-grade boys, with its forty or fifty squieming kids. It meant the second floor of the tan brick, undistinguished parish building on Sixty-first Street that had swallowed so much of Studs's life for the past 8 years.It meant the black-garbed Sisters of Providence, with their rattling beads, their swishing strides, and the funny-looking wooden clappers they used, which made a dry snapping sound and which hurt like anything when a guy got hit over the head with one. It meant Sister Carmel, who used to teach fourth grade, but was dead now; and who used to hit everybody with the edge of a ruler because she knew they all called her the bearded lady . . . . It meant Battleaxe Bertha talking and hearing lessons, her thin, sunken-jawed face white

> as a ghost, and sometimes looking like a corpse. It meant Bertha yelling in that creaky old woman's voice of hers.'

Many years later in The Last Hurrah the Cardinal, the only name given him, wonders what is wrong with Catholic college education when he sees the likes of Kevin McCluskey who is Frank Skeffington's opponent; and Father Hugh Kennedy suggests that certain well heeled Catholic girl colleges did not necessarily strained the girls' mentality.

If the Catholic schools had their detractors, the public schools of the early 1900s came in for their share of pungent criticism. In A Tree Grows in Brooklyn,

> Brutalizing is the only adjective for the public schools of that district around 1908 and '09. Child psychology had not been heard of in Williamsburg in those days. Teaching requirements were easy: graduation from high school and two years at Teacher Training School. Few teachers had the true vocation for their work. They taught because it was one of the few jobs open to them; because it was a better paying then factory work; because they had a long summer vacation; because they got a pension when they retired. They taught because no one wanted to marry them. Married women were not allowed to teach in those days, hence most of the teachers were women made neurotic by starved love instincts. These barren women spent their fury on other women's children in a twisted authoritative manner.

The cruelest teachers were those who had come from homes similar to those of the poor children. It seemed that in their bitterness towards those unfortunate little ones, they were somehow exorcising their own fearful background.

Of course not all teachers were bad . . . . But these (good) women did not last long as teachers. Either they married quickly and left the profession, or they were hounded out of their jobs by fellow teachers."

Francie found one thing to be true in public schools that I found to be true of the parochial school that I attended in 1935.

> "She had been in school but half a day when she knew that she would never be a teacher's pet. That privilege was reserved for a small group of girls ... girls with freshly curled hair, crisp clean pinafores and new silk hairbows. They were the children of the prosperous storekeepers of the neighborhood. Francie noted how Miss Briggs, the teacher beamed on them and seated them in the choicest places in the front row. These darlings were not made to share seats. Miss Briggs' voice was gentle when she spoke to these fortune-favored few, and snarling when she spoke to the great crowd of the unwashed."

But Francie knew the value of education and persevered and ultimately could exclaim: "my grandparents never knew how to read or write. My mother's sisters can't read or write. My parents never even graduated from grade school, I never went to high school. But I, M. Francis K. Nolan, am now in college."

By going to college the Irish realized they could move up the economic and social scale, but no amount of education eradicated the worst of human qualities: hate. Hate of others. This hate in some cases was brought out by the rotten treatment the Irish had received from their enemies, namely the British. Other hates developed from economic fear and misunderstanding of others' cultures. The Irish-Americans represented in these writings are great haters. The following are hated in various degrees: Negroes, Jews, Italians, Poles, Egyptians, Puerto Ricans, among others. At times they hated themselves. Poverty stricken Lizz O'Neill symbolized many of the poor Irish. Lizz was second generation American and those who were not were obviously not American. "But Mother," she complained, "I want to move out and get out of this dump, and this dirty neighborhood. It's full of Germans, and Mother, never trust a German. . . .And there are Irish, and Polacks, and the dirty dagoes around, too, and Mother, I am a white woman, and I come from a fine family. Your father and mother owned land in Ireland, and they were descendants of the kings of Ireland."

Lizz O'Neill summarized all her racial hatreds in one dictum: "Mother, you can never trust a nigger or a Jew. The Jews killed Christ, and the nigger is a Jew made black till the Day of Judgment as a punishment from God."

For Lizz American justice was justice of the clan: Irish justice would prevail in the forms of Irish cops, Irish lawyers, Irish judges. Liz looked forward eagerly to a lawsuit against an Italian wagon driver who had run over one of her deliquent brood.

> "When I go before the judge, I'll say to him, 'Judge, I was born in this country, and I'm American. My mother came over here before Lincoln was shot. Judge, are you going to let a dago run over an American child in broad daylight and get away with it?'" Explaining her point still more forcefully, she said: "We Americans make laws for Americans, not for the wops."

Father Gilhooley on the day of consecration of his new church St. Patrick's failed to notice, ". . . . standing in the rear of the church were four new and totally edified parishoners. Their skin was black." This did not please his parishoners.

Father William Monaghan had a similar feeling for Italians:

> Italians in great numbers were flooding into the parish of St. Margaret's; the whole region west of the B & M tracks was swarming with Neapolitans--noisy, wine-drinking brawlers, quick with their steel but slow with their silver. Ture, they were Catholics, and therefore welcome in God's sight. But in the sight of William Monaghan, who was not God but merely the rector of a self-sustaining parish, they were definitely not welcome. And for two reasons: first, they didn't support their rector generously; and second, he didn't know how to get along with them. They were excitable, superstitious, dirty, and cynical, not in the descent fashion of the Celts, but in some outlandish manner of

> their own. To put it briefly, they were not Irish. Worse yet, they were pushing out the Irish. The fine old names of Finan, Finnegan, and Foley were giving place on the baptismal roster to Castelucci, Foppiano, and Foley, and Marinelli. Unless Michael the Archangel or some other Saint Militant defended Bill Monaghan in the battle against his Latin parishoners, St. Margaret's was doomed."

The Italians got nothing compared to what the Jews and the Negroes got. In Chicago gang and race wars were rampant. Hatred of the blacks is summarized by Lizz O'Neill a very slothful woman: "I'm a white woman, descended from kings of Ireland," Liz said brandishing her arms, "and I have to live with niggers in back of me, using the same toilet with us. My children can't go out in the back yard and play without smelling like pickaninnies. I'm going to move out of this dump."

The children took their prejudices like their politics from their parents. The wars were often as brutal as the ones we have today. Things do not change: hate is a most salable commodity. After a skermish between whites and blacks, one hooligan boasted: "Hell, Mickey Galligan damn near druve a spike through one black bastard's eye. I wished he did get the eye instead of the cheek. Anything you do to a nigger is all right. Even my old man doesn't whale me when he knows I was fightin' with the blacks.'

In Chicago and New York and Boston it was the Jews. The Jews were universally hated. Like the Chicago Jews the New York Jews were often beaten up and blamed for much (from ruining sports, to block busting, to economic disaster). Deicide was the charged most frequently raised; the Jews were frequently called kikes, sheenies, rag pickers and other uncomplimentary names.

Neeley Nolan, Francie's younger brother, and his friends have just bedeviled a little Jew boy on his way to the temple. After giving him detailed instructions for his conduct for the coming week, they walk away from him. Francie heard her brother say,

> "I know that kid. He's a white Jew." Neeley had heard papa speak so of a Jewish bartender that he likes.
>
> "There ain't no such thing as a white Jew," said the big boy.
>
> "Well, if there was such a thing as a white Jew," said Neeley with that combination of agreeing with others, and still sticking on his own opinion, which made him so amiable, "he would be it."
>
> "There never could be a white Jew," said the big boy, "even in supposing."
>
> "Our Lord was a Jew," Neeley was quoting mama.
>
> "And the other Jews turned right around and killed him," clinched the big boy.

Arthur Farragan has this feeling about his co-religionists.

> "One trouble with Catholicism was that it encompassed a welter of vertical ethnic dividions. No high-church-low church to keep Farragan and his Muriel apart from Fitzpatrick and his fat Catherine and their ten carotene--looking children: the shit and the gold lumped together in dubious cohesion, as Farragan saw it."

One place where the merde and the gold worked together was in politics. Here the Irish specialized. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and one may say still in Chicago with Frank Skeffington's "successor" Richard Daley. Old Tom Apley writes in the 1880's to his brother William, "You appear worried for the aptitude shown here by "Paddy" in politics. I can not share this alarm; instead I am quite willing that he should interest himself in municipal affairs as long as there is a firm hand at the top, which is I am sure the case at present."

Frank Skeffington was one of those who took an interest and became a master politician. Speaking of the Boston political scene he says:

> "It changed over night, you know. A hundred years ago the loyal sons and daughters of the first white inhabitants went to bed one lovely evening, and by the time they woke up and rubbed their noses, their charming old city was swollen to three times its size. The savages had arrived. Not the Indians; far worse. It was the Irish. They had arrived and they wanted in. Even worse than that, they got in. The story of how they did may not be a particularly pretty one one either side, but I doubt if anyone would deny that it was exciting and, as I say, unique. Moreover, it's not wuite over yet, though we're in the last stages now. For some time something new has been on the horizon: namely the Italians. But when they take over that will be an entirely different story, and I for one won't be around to see it."

It would appear that Frank Skeffington was the type of man that you either loved or disliked intensely. Here is conversation between The Cardinal and his secretary Monsignor Killian on this topic:

> "I suppose he came along at the right moment," The Monsignor said thoughtfully. "Just at the time when our people were beginning to flex their muscles and look around for a spokesman. And there was Skeffington, the man for the times. I guess you could say the wrong man."

"I guess you could," the Cardindal said grimly. "A scoundrel from the beginning. It was the right time, and our people did need somebody. Very well. The same thing was occurring in other cities just about the same time. In New York, for example. The difference was that in New York they produced Al Smith, while we produced Frank Skeffington. We have been answering for it ever since."

Later the Monsignor speaks of the extreme loyalty that Frank Skeffington commans in spite of some rather serious scandals.

The arthritic Cardinal answers:

> "You don't shoot Santa Claus," the Cardinal says wearily. "Isn't that what Smith said about Roosevelt? It's much truer of Skeffington. He plays Santa Claus in person every morning in his own home. The people come to him with empty stockings and he fills them: . . . . The fact that all these personal gifts ultimately come out of public funds is neither mentioned nor considered. And it's these personal gifts, these favors, that have bribed and brought the people forever. They're good enough people and they're not immoral; they don't even begin to understand what's happened to them. And you can talk until doomsday and all they understand is that no power on earth and no scandal, however serious--can turn them against the man who shakes their hand, inquiries solicitiously for each member of their family by name in that mellow actor's voice, and who does so much for them, day after day, year after year. They say, "He's one of our own," he said bitterly,"and they say it with pride. He's the poor Irish boy who made good and came out of the slums to wear a frock coat and sit in the governor's chair, who puts ten dollars--ostentatiously--in the collection basket at ten o'clock Mass every Sunday, and who personally gives aid and comfort to the needy. They call him," he said with disgust, "a grand man."

George Apley views the Skeffington types of an earlier period with the same distaste but in a different manner.

> "As I listened to the discussion of this committee I was amazed to find myself in the company of a number of ill-bred men, mostly Irish, who seemed to take no real interest in improving the city. Such ideas as they had were illiterate and without any merit. What seemed to concern them most was that the work should go to one of two contractors for whom they appeared to have a deep personal friendship, although I could readily see that the bids these contractors had made for the proposed work were vastly higher than the bids of others. The matter of the economy did not seem to concern my fellow committee members in the least. Their argument ran something like this: Martin Casey did a good job. He always does the work." What surprised me more was that no one paid much attention to anything I said. They appeared rather to resent some suggestions which I made and one of them actually said to me: "It's your name we want, we're used to this sort of business; sure, you wouldn't understand it, Mr. Apley."

George Apley's sister did not succeed in her quest. Amelia Apley Simmings writes to him, "We must and we shall clean up Boston. If we do not, this will become an Irish city run by the Roman Catholic Church."

The Irish politicians were not the only ones who were corrupt. Nathaniel Gardiner's one of the wasp's most respected Bostonians noted:

> "I won't go into naming names, but I know several reputable citizens connected with out banks and utilities who, with

> perfect legality, have stolen far more from the city than has Skeffington. The distinction between private and corporate theft is a neat one; I've never been quite able to accept it. Nor, would I imagine, has Skeffington. I recall, once, when he was the governor, that he addressed a small, influential, and extremely hostile group of men made up in good part of these same people. He wanted their support for some measure--I forgot now exactly what it was--and here's how he set about winning it. He kept them waiting, for three quarters of an hour before he appeared. Then he began to talk to them stressing particularly the difference between them and himself; the difference in background, in political faith, in belief, and so on. And then, when he'd done this for several minutes, he announced that whatever their difference may have been, at least they were alike in one respect. 'We are united, gentlemen, in what is, when you come to think of it, a very considerable accomplishment,' he said. 'We've all managed to stay out of jail.'

Here is a look at one of the Boston contractors that became wealthy.

> ". . . Cornelius J. Deegan, occupant, with his wife and retinue, of the Il de Fonso Suite on A deck. Mr. Deegan, whose fortunate brick and gravel contracts with the city of Boston had made him a millionaire, was returning from Rome, where he had recently been inducted into papal knighthood because of his generous interest in restoring the Irish abbey of Tullmara. . . . Sir Cornelius was accompanied by his wife, Agnes, a grayish woman of no importance to anyone except her husband, her seven children, some fifteen assorted Catholic charities, and a hundred or more poor relatives."

At a later date we find,

> . . . the ladies of St. Elizabeth's Guild were holding their annual garden party at broad-lawned Fenscross, the Auburndale estate of Cornelius J. Deegan. The contractor-Knight. . . sauntered genially among the tables set up beneath the fine magnolias that had once sheltered the Protestant Frothinghams. Corny had snapped the place up for a song, a mere sixty thousand dollars, and had placed title in the name of his wife Annie, 'just in case.' His Eminence Lawrence Cardinal Glennon was due to arrive any minute now, retinue and all, in public recognition of the fine charitable work performed by the Guild among the deserving poor of Boston and environs.

The cardinals mentioned in both novels have often been taken for William Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, some times known as Gang Plank Bill because of his frequent trips to Italy. The cardinals are men of taste, cultural, and refinement, and they are truly loyal to the Holy See. Obviously they have human weaknesses. Here is an example of their liking of the good things in life. Cardinal Glennon speaks to Father Steve: ("Cast your eye on this menu, Stephen, he would say. "Lowell of Harvard is dining with me tonight. Do you think that escargots a la marseillaise and filet of sole amandine will persuade the Prex that our customs of not eating meat on Fridays has its advantages?")

The nameless cardinal in The Last Hurrah holds a press conference.

> "The bumply, richly veined surfaced of the Cardinal's round face darkened as he recalled the circumstance surrounding this catastrophe. Through some incredible blunder, the usual seating arrangements for the press had not been carried out; as the Cardinal had entered the reception chamber, he had seen, with horrified eyes, not the sturdy, humbly workaday chairs suitable for such an encounter, but an elegant, fragile semicircle of the ancient pieces he had brought back from Italy twenty years before. Purchased at great cost, imported with loving care, they were chairs for the great occasion. And now they here--here, for the press!"

But it had been too late to remedy the error; the newspapermen had come barging in; they had seated themselves. One fat-thighed oaf had plumped down heavily and here had been an immediate sharp sound of splintering. The Cardinal had drawn in his breath is a hiss, and the reporter had looked down, and then up, and smiled the smile of an imbecile.

"Oops," he had said guiltily.

"Why didn't you bring an axe?" the Cardinal had said icily. Of all the charges leveled against the Irish-American the one that does not hold true is of anti-American. George Apley and his ilk feared the Irish greatly especially during World War I. During this period his son John is with the army in Texas, Apley told John that he found the hyphenated Americans had a torpid interest in fighting the Hun.

> There is also a belief here that the city is riddled with German spies who are doing their best to foist their propaganda on the public. They have certainly succeeded in reaching a large section of out South Boston Irish population which shows a definite hostility to England and unbelievable sympathy in the revolutionary tendencies of Ireland. It is said also, and I have reasons for believing it. that the Irish Catholic Church is actually pro-German. . . .

There were other thoughts about loyalty in other circles.

> "Across Stephen's (Fermoyle) meditation fell the voice of Dr. Hubbell K. Whiteman, what hopes do you entertain, Monsignor, for the success of our Inter-Faith movement?" The question, legitimate enough, had the quality of a skirmisher's shot. Dr. Whiteman (lay author of Protestanism on the March were merely finding his range. "Protestanaims may benefit," said Stephen. "But quite honestly, I can't see what Roman Catholicism stands to gain."

Dr. Whiteman was affable with a difference.

> "Suppose you change 'Roman'to read 'American.' Wouldn't certain changes flow from such a shift in emphasis?"
>
> "For example, Doctor?"
>
> Hubbell K. Whiteman launched into a demonstration of the benefits that might accure to Catholics if they organized, as he put it, on an American basis." . . . (He)made the point that American Catholics, divested of "foreign allegaince," would be regarded "less suspiciously" in many quarters. Consequently, they would be eligible," he argued for a larger role in American political life."
>
> Stephen replied that American Catholics were bound by no foreign allegiance--unless, possibly, God could be regarded as a foreigner."

Even when the system gave them a beating they would not desert. The Chicago Irish Catholic Americans were "true Catholics and good Americans." Studs and his kind were not rebels. They went without question to confession and mass. They never doubted that the American political and economic systems were the best in the world. They saluted the flag with sentimental fervor and vigorously damned the socialists and labor union leaders. Studs and his friends listened to radicals spout their unorthodox ideas in Washington Park,and they were bewildered and annoyed. When a Greek waiter at one of their hangouts held unorthodox opinions on priests, politicians, and bankers the gang got him fired.

Studs and Paddy Lonigan like other Irish Americans of the 1920's dreamed of gaining sudden wealth through the miracle of Wall Street; both were wiped out, the older Lonigan being hurt harder. For Paddy everything had gone wrong in the end. He brought on margin, and couldn't meet the payments when his broker called for them, his painting business went under during the depression: Chicago was bankrupt, the Irish no longer had complete control of city hall and the few contracts that were available went elsewhere; the Poles were becoming a political power. Paddy's real estate business went under; his depression-harassed tenants could not meet their rent payments, and it became harder for him to hold onto his apartment building. His bank failed, and the old man lost the money he needed for his mortage payments.

Despite their economic reverses, the Lonigans were not tempted by communism. Studs rebuffed a bitter unemployed man who was talking in terms of revolution. "I'm not a Bolshevik. It's against the country and the church." And Paddy Lonigan became bewildered when he saw Irishmen marching in a Communist demonstration.

Paddy like everyone else had his own ideas about what was wrong with the county. Hoover of course and behind him the manuverings of foreign forces. Father Moylan (Father Couglin referred to as the mad monk of the silver dollar elsewhere) pointed the finger: the Jewish international bankers. "The Jews," Paddy grumbled, "queered everything they put their hands on." They had ruined Fifty-eight Street neighborhood by buying property and selling it to the Negroes, forcing the Irish and other white people to clear out. "Trickery, Jew trickery, had ruined this neighborhood. And the trickery of the Jew bankers was causing the depression and ruining him." But Paddy remained a loyal American.

The wealthy class in their fashion was just as patriotic. Arthur Farragan wishes for the death of his nephew Malcolm who is fighting in Viet Nam because Malcolm in the eyes of his mother Ann is a far superior human being that Arthur's draft-dodging son Simon.

> . . . he wished for Malcolm's death. But then he retracted, feeling ashamed: he loved his country far too much, had served it too devotedly in the war of Farragan's generation to hope for the destruction of one of its soldiers. A compromise was in order, then. A moment after his discharge from service, when he passed stripped of his uniform, through the gates of the Marine base to the freer air outside, let him be struck and killed instantly by a car, O Lord.

Later Ann his sister screamed, "You mollycoddling unpatriotic bastard! I always knew there was something wrong with you, the way you took so many vacations over there in France. And spending all that money to have those cases of wine sent home when we have such wonderful wines here in America."

In an earlier conversation Anne tells Arthur,

> You should have met that dove bastard that was here yesterday. I almost shot him. He had Malcolm's Christopher medal, the one the army couldn't find when they sent his body home to me. This kid was a Puerto Rican, and when he gave me the medal I grabbed him and kissed him, and Crow kissed him, and the three of us sat around crying in the parlor. Then we found out he was a dove, Malcolm's death was a goddamn waste, he kept saying to me.
>
> "What did you do?"
>
> "I threw him out. Then I burned Malcolm's Christopher medal. To think that little Spic had been carrying it around with him this many months . . . ."

Anna was a woman of strong feeling, and Arthur Farragan realized that there was one place for this super: Irish-Catholic-Patriot-American. "The fascists dictatorships of Portugal and Spain that Farragan guessed lay due east across the Atlantic from New Jersey. There, but, for the language, she would be perfectly at home."

Obviously there are other aspects of Irish-Catholic-Americans that have not been covered in this paper because of length; for example,some of the authors show the Church's fight through its priest against birth control and abortion, wearily the priests admit they have lost the battle against birth control, even before the pill. But these aspects must be reserved for a larger work.

This composite of the Irish-American Catholic in all his glory and in all his flaws will please some, anger others, but there is no better way to end this essay than as a non-historian to cite the words of an historian:

> Then the historian uses novels as sources, he must always

remember that the novelists has his own angle of vision. The novelist is blind to many prosaic aspects of life, yet what he does see, he sees with striking clarity. He senses the pettiness of village society, the demoralizing tendencies within the big cities, the restlessness of modern women, the mercenary goals of business and professional people, the sullen anger of exploited groups. The novelists is almost never a neutral observer. He feels life with intensity. His emotions range the whole width of the spectrum from anger to compassion. Sometimes he is convulsed by the humor of the human situation; sometimes he is appalled by its tragedy. As witness to history, novelists are prejudiced and willful, but, nevertheless, they have much to tell.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Irish, pp. 25-26.
2. Galbraith, "Sadness in Boston," New Yorker, June 21, 1961, pp. 87-88.
3. O'Neill, A Touch of the Poet, p. 24.
4. Ibid., p. 26.
5. Ibid., p. 37.
6. Ibid., p. 48.
7. Ibid., p. 112.
8. Marquand, The Late George Apley, pp. 72-73.
9. Ibid., pp. 74-75.
10. James T. Farrell, No Star Is Lost, p. 161.
11. Ibid., 168.
12. Ibid., p. 234.
13. Betty Smith, A Tree Grows in Brooklyn, P. 49.
14. Ibid., p. 236.
15. Ibid., p. 141.
16. Ibid., p. 180.
17. James T. Farrell, Father and Son, pp. 453-454.
18. Ibid., 601.
19. Henry Morton Robinson, The Cardinal, p. 27.
20. James T. Farrell, A World I Never Made, p. 13.
21. James T. Farrell, Studs Lonigan, p. 18.
22. Ibid., p. 24.
23. Ibid., p. 735-736.
24. A Tree Grows in Brooklyn, p. 46.
25. Ibid., pp. 350-351.
26. The Cardinal, p. 76.
27. Ibid., p. 106.

28. Studs Lonigan, p. 46.

29. Ibid., p. 375.

30. Ibid., p. 526.

31. Ibid., p. 529.

32. Ibid., p. 526.

33. The Cardinal, pp. 137-138.

34. O'Connor, The Edge of Sadness, p. 345.

35. Tom McHale, Farragan's Retreat, pp. 131-132.

36. Ibid., p. 229.

37. Ibid., p. 240-241.

38. A Tree Grows In Brooklyn, p. 406.

39. The Cardinal, p. 27.

40. O'Connor, The Last Hurrah, p. 67.

41. Farragan's Retreat, p. 69.

42. Ibid., p. 85.

43. Ibid., p. 129.

44. A Tree Grows in Brooklyn, p. 3.

45. A World I Never Made, p. 427.

46. A Tree Grows in Brooklyn, p. 14.

47. Studs Lonigan, p. 292.

48. Farragan's Retreat, pp. 12-1.

49. The Edge of Sadness, p. 140.

50. Ibid., p. 104.

51. Ibid., p. 411

52. Farragan's Retreat, p. 31.

53. The Cardinal, p. 48.

54. Studs Lonigan, p. 79.

55. *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, pp. 134-135.

56. *Ibid*, p. 133.

57. *Ibid.*,p. 379.

58. *A World I Never Made*, p. 61.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

61. *The Cardinal*, p. 50.

62. *A World I Never Made*, p. 62.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

64. *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, p. 21.

65. *Farragan's Retreat*, p. 226.

66. *The Late George Apley*, p. 34.

67. *The Last Hurrah*, pp. 74-75.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

70. *The Late George Apley*, p. 151.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

72. *The Last Hurrah*, p. 108.

73. *The Cardinal*, p. 3.

74. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

76. *The Last Hurrah*, pp. 91-92.

77. *The Late George Apley*, p. 202.

78. *The Cardinal*, p. 402.

79. *Studs Lonigan,* p. 562.

80. *Farragan's Retreat*, p. 99.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

82. _Ibid._, p. 13.

83. _Ibid._, p. 98.

84. Blake, _Novelists' America_, pp. 263-264.

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF REV. JOSEPH MURGAS

by

William R. Check

Father Joseph Murgas was a scientist, artist, botanist, and educator, first and foremost a Catholic priest. "As pastor of the Sacred Heart Slovak Church in Wilkes-Barre for 33 years, he not only laid the foundation, but molded the spiritual development of the parish. For almost two decades, from 1896 to 1914, he alone administered to the Slovak population of Wilkes-Barre. Imagine the hundreds of baptisms, confessions, communions, annointings, marriage, and funerals . . . not to mention the endless hours of counseling and directing the new immigrants in America."[1]

Who was this man Murgas, and why has his place in history been largely forgotten? It will be the object of this paper to introduce some aspects of this remarkable man who, outside of Wilkes-Barre, has never received the recognition he deserved.

Joseph Mugas was born on February 17, 1864 in Tajov, a village in the heart of Slovakia. He received his preacademic training in the city of Banska Bystrica. "He was a brilliant student."[2] At the age of 18, he decided to study for the priesthood at the Seminary in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia. After two years, he was transferred to the Seminary of Ostriham where in addition to his theological studies, "he took up painting, sketching, and experimentation with electricity and wireless telegraphy." He also studied at the Academy of Arts in Munich, Germany and received training in physics. On November 10, 1888 he was ordained a priest in the diocese of Banska Bystrica and assigned as assistant pastor in the parish of Dubova and later in Kienovice. In 1889, Murgas received special awards and honors for his art work from the Academy of Arts in Munich. Meanwhile, Murgas was continuing his scientific studies and experiements in wireless telegraphy in Vienna.[4]

To be a member of the Slovak intelligentsia in that time was risky business. Slovakia was under the domination of Hungary, and the Hungarians feared uprisings by the people, stirred up by educated Slovaks. In an attempt to destroy Slovak nationalism the Hungarian language was imposed as the only legal language in Slovakia. Under the pressure of the Hungarian government, many Slovaks left their native land for America, while those that stayed fought to preserve their language which at the time, represented the very existence of the Slovak nation. Father Murgas was among those who departed for America.

Arriving on April 6, 1895, Murgas was temporarily assigned to a parish in Pittston. Six months later, he was transferred to Sacred Heart Slovak parish in Wilkes-Barre, where he stayed until his death. Within the year, he completed construction of a wooden church, along with a rectory and school for children. In 1908, Murgas and his parishoners built a new church of brick and stone, included ornate art work, and altars imported from Fracne at a cost of around a half million dollars. Other improvements in the parish, along with Murgas' skill at raising money, increased its total value to the sum of $650,000"[5]. This was a staggering figure for any group, immigrant or otherwise, at that time.

Murgas' reputation as an artist was well established in Europe where he began his career and was looked upon as an authority. The Dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary had even offered him an arrangement that resembled a patronage. Murgas, however, was determined to be worthy of his priestly calling, even though he never completely abandoned his artistic desire.

"His first painting in America was a beautiful reproduction of Murillo's Immaculate Conception which he admired so much, and for the want of the original, he decided to reproduce it. Because of his admiration for the Mother of God, Father Murgas placed the painting over the main altar of his new church where it remained during his pastorate."[6]

Murgas also painted decorative murals on the walls of his dining room and rectory in which he portrayed the scenes of his native village in Slovakia. He painted other religious portraits, such as the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and was a true master of landscape painting. In his spare time, (if he could ever find any), Murgas loved to travel to Harvey's Lake and Lake Silkworth to find inspiration in woods, the shores, and the sunsets. "Murgas would occasionally paint a setting of commonplace interest to prove that nobility of style and creative genius can draw from the most ordinary subjects, and in one instance he portrayed a row of backyards in a winter setting as seen from his kitchen window. Naturally, the scene lacks beauty, as backyards frequently do, but Father Murgas succeeded in producing results seldom gained in work of this type."[7]

Murgas' final work was a life size portrait of his superior, Bishop O'Reilly of Scranton. The portrait, at first glance, gives the impression that although the portrait is painted, something appears to be missing. It is obvious that the painting was never completed when compared with his other works.

It has been said that Father Murgas received offers of up to $5,000 for some of his paintings, and that some of them are worth much more today. Substantiating evidence for these assertions, however, could not be found. "In any event, Murgas can be said to have been a Slovak pioneer artist in America, and stands as the unsurpassed master of his nationality, either here or abroad."[8]

Murgas' love of nature also led him into another scientific pursuit, the formation of a collection of bugs and insects, particularly butterflies and moths. Murgas' collection consisted of over 9000 of these insects, all identified, carefully classified, catalogued, and mounted in frames. His collection of moths and butterflies consisted of many rare species which he caught himself, and also many which he purchased from other collectors, much as a stamp collector would.

How he managed to find time, despite the demands upon him, to pursue this endeavor is difficult to understand. Those who remember Murgas, however, claim that his chief initiative was to collect the insects to encourage study among his own parochial school students, and also other students in the field of biology.

After his death, his collection fell into a state of neglect. Many specimens were misplaced and frames broken. Monsignor Sobota, Murga' successor as pastor of Sacred Heart, decided in 1948 to present the collection to King's College where it was accepted for the Biology Department. "The gift is officially known as the Father Joseph Murgas Memorial Collection donated by Monsignor John Sobota on behalf of Sacred Heart Parish. The collection acquired by King's College contained about 6000 different specimens and included every species found in the eastern region of Pennsylvania."[9] The total value of the collection has never been fully estimated. Nonetheless, during his lifetime, "Murgas was known as one of the leading lepidopterists in America."[10]

It is in the realm of wireless radio transmission, however, that Father Murgas' claim to fame lies. His enthusiasm for electricity and radio dates back to 1886 and his graduation from the Electrical College of Vienna. It was this training, along with his own wealth of electrical theories, which he utilized in the perfection of his wireless telegraph.

"Prior to Father Murgas' research, wireless telegraphy depended on the principle of a single raw sparkplug, which issued a noise akin to present day static. It was a crude, harsh sound, which rendered impracticable further development of the science along that line."[11]

Gugliemo Marconi conducted his first experiments in England in 1896. Marconi was neither a physicist nor a mathematician. He was an experimentor whose work on the wireless was subsidized by international bankers and European heads of state. Thus, he had a distinct financial advantage over other scientists and experimentors of the day.

Marconi began working with great speed toward a solution of the wireless problem. Eventually, Marconi completed his wireless system. "His system employed an induction coil with a telegraph key in the primary circuit. Across the secondary circuit was an unturned spark gap. Marconi did not terminate the gap in a dipole, but in a ground plate for one pole and in an elevated metal cylinder for the other. For a receiver, he used a simple caherer with improvements in sensitivity."[12]

At best, Marconi's system could only transmit messages over water space. Therefore, he concentrated his efforts to perfect his system for ship to ship and ship to share operations. Over land, Marconi still experienced the problem of static. Notwithstanding, in September, 1902, Marconi conducted a wireless telegraphy test between Washington and Annapolis for an extremely interested United States Navy. The test, however, was a dismal failure. The Navy did not consider Marconi's system worth adapting, and Marconi himself admitted that at its current state of development, wireless communication over land was impossible.

But, Murgas' curiosity could not be satisfied. He was convinced that a system could be developed to transmit wireless messages over land. He was also convinced that he could surpass Marconi even though he had preceded him by many years in experimentation and study. Even with this in mind, however, Murgas did not begin to work in earnest until the occurence of a serious railroad wreck in Wilkes-Barre in 1902. "Murgas believed that future train disasters could be avoided and many lives saved if a method could be devised to transmit messages to moving trains."[13] This, therefore, was the impetus behind Murgas' work.

Murgas began his experiments in the basement of his rectory. Later, he built a small, home-made laboratory in the rear of the church so as not to put undue financial burdens on the parish. Murgas had dabbled with the wireless in Europe and America, but he began intensive research after Marconi's failure. "He would sleep only 4-5 hours at night, and devoted most of his early and late evening hours working on the wireless."[14]

After only one year of intensive study and research Murgas succeeded in producing his new method of wireless transmission. "Murgas' system operated via the rotary spark gap, a revolving contact apparatus which was capable of producing impulses of different frequencies. These impulses, when received by an ordinary telephone receiver, produced various tones (Murgas used only two) with great rapidity."[15]

The technique used by Murgas used a high tone and a low tone; high tone for 'Morse Code' dot, and a low tone for 'Morse Code' dash. On September 14, 1903, Murgas applied for patents on the system as well as on the method of operating it.

Murgas' system differed so greatly from all previous and existing systems of wireless telegraphy that the United States Patent Department decided to investigate. The Patent Department accepted the invention and Murgas was awarded two patents on May 10, 1904. "The first, No. 759, 825, called 'Wireless Telegraphy Apparatus; represented the system invented by him, and the second, No. 759, 826, known as 'Method of Communicating Intelligence by Wireless Telegraphy,' represented a new mean of wireless communication."[16] In all, Murgas held 12 patents at the time of his death.

Murgas' system was capable of transmission 70 miles on land and 700 miles over sea. He was convinced that he could transmit messages more than a thousand miles had he the means and opportunity to test it. As it was, Murgas had for a transmission tower a wooden pole, 50 feet high, with a metal bar across the top and a wire running down to his small laboratory. Despite such handicaps, Murgas continued his experiments with his wireless in attempts at even greater distance of transmission. Meanwhile, Murgas was being acclained by scientists, and businessmen were becoming interested in what appeared would become a promising endeavor.

Murgas began receiving offers from various backers soon after his success with the wireless was announced. Business interests were extremely interested in development of his invention for commercial and public use. Murgas, however, refused to sell or permit his inventions to be placed on the market, believing that they were far from perfect and that further improvement was needed. Eventually Murgas gave in, partially because he was rapidly running out of money, and also because he believed he had reached the point where his apparatus was fool-proof.

Consequently, Murgas was approached by Colonel Joseph Stokes, President of the Electrical Signal Company of Philadelphia, who represented a group of business men interested in the Murgas Tone System. After a series of negotiations, on agreement was reached, and the Universal Aether Telegraph Company was formed. In the agreement, the new company agreed to build antenna towers, an experimental laboratory, and a transmitting station. Murgas was also to receive $6000 and a block of 10,000 shares of stock in the Company.

In return, Murgas' patents now belonged to the company, and any other patents he might receive would also become the property of the Company. Finally, upon Murgas' death, the apparatus, equipment, and the entire Tone System would remain the property of the Company.

"The Universal Aauther Telegraph Company was officially organized in Washington, D.C., on Nov. 28, 1904 with a capital stock of $10,000,000 and proposed to issue two hundred thousand shares at par value of $10 each, to secure a working capital of two million dollars for the purpose of establishing communication by wireless wherever it may be desired."[17] The Company planned lines of communication throughout the country and abroad. Bur before any stock was to be sold, there was to be an official test.

The Company appropriated $18,000 to erect two 200 foot towers in Wilkes-Barre and Scranton. "They were the first of their kind to be built in the United States."[18] They were built of pine lumber and were connected together with iron plates. At the top was an antenna to send and receive signals.

On November 23, 1905, the first public test was conducted between Wilkes-Barre and Scranton. "Mayor of Wilkes-Barre, Fred Kirkendall, sent the first public greeting to Mayor Alex Connel of Scranton. Among others attending were Pres. Stokes of the

Universal Aether Co., Lt. Samuel S. Robinson of the United States Navy emissary of the United States Navy's bureau of equipment."[19]

The test was extremely successful. Lt. Robinson was very impressed, and promised a detailed report to the Secretary of the Navy. The Company now planned 15,000 stations to be located in every major city.

Marconi had heard of Murgas' success and longed to meet him. He was extremely interested in finding out how Murgas had achieved success. None other than Thomas Edison arranged for Marconi and his associate, Professor Fessendon, to meet Murgas.

Marconi visited Murgas in Wilkes-Barre, and Murgas later traveled to New York to visit both Marconi and Fessendon. On both occasions, Murgas spoke of his wireless system like a proud father. Marconi and Fessendon later traveled to Italy on what seemed to be a simple vacation. But, other things were also happening.

Following the November, 1905 test a violent storm struck N.E. Pa. and destroyed Murgas' tower in Scranton and caused considerable damage to the tower in Wilkes-Barre. Murgas blamed the contractors for poor construction, but this accomplished nothing. Also, Colonel Stokes, President of the Aether Company died along with two other major investors. The hope that the Navy would adopt Murgas' tone system and award the company large contracts as anticipated, mysteriously did not materialize.

"To extend Murgas' experiments in radio and to rebuild the wireless apparatus was a problem which the Universal Aether Telegraph Company could no longer meet. A tremendous amount of money was required and the remaining officers of the company were disinclined to advance it."[20] The company was now on the verge of bankruptcy. No matter how many of his paintings he sold, Murgas could not raise enough money to continue on his own.

Meanwhile, Professor Fessendon developed what he called the "Turned System. Marconi also introduced what he called the Sonorous System." Both men claimed to have improved on Murgas' Tone System, but this claim had no basis in fact. Both Marconi and Fessendon had adapted Murgas' system and had made no improvement whatsoever.

On December 24, 1906, Fessendon conducted the first public test of this system. In 1909, the United States Navy announced that it would adopt Fessendon's Tuned System and awarded a contract to Fessendon's Electric Signal Company. In the meantime, the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company had placed the "Sonorous System on the commercial market and it had been sold in Europe."

In what must be one of the greatest ironies of all time, Fessendon filed suit against Marconi for infringing on his patents! Nowhere was Murgas' name even mentioned! Murgas never even testified in any of the court proceedings which dragged on from 1912 to 1916.

The case was finally settled in the United States District Court of Southern New York in 1916. The decisive testimony in the trial was given by Frank Waterman, an electronics engineer and consultant. Testifying on behalf of Marconi, Waterman stated that "another investor and practical worker used high group frequencies in wireless telegraphy long before Professor Fessendon. That inventor was Joseph Murgas.. I refer to Murgas' patents 759825 and 759826 . . . "[21]

In his final decision in 1916, Judge Meyer of the United States District Court ruled that neither Marconi nor Fessenden had infringed on each other's patents, and dismissed their complaints. He did rule, however, that both men had infringed on the patents of Murgas, and recognized him as worthy of sole credit for the invention in question.

But it was already too late for Murgas. Marconi had sold his system in Europe, which was beyond the reach of United States courts. Also, both Marconi's and Fessendon's system were being sold commercially in the United States, and the Navy had incorporated Fessenden's system. Murgas, although recognized officially as the original inventor, became a forgotten man and remains so to this day. Although many believe that Murgas received a financial settlement from Marconi and Fessenden, proof of this cannot be found. Therefore, it must be assumed that Murgas, was cheated not only out of recognition, but also out of the financial benefits of his invention.

One may ask why Murgas remained undisturbed throughout the court proceedings and litigation despite the fact that his two most important patents were at stake? There were two reasons for his indifference. Firstly, it must be remembered that Murgas was a priest above all and then a scientist. He believed that God would remember all, and that he would be just in the end. Also, he cared little for recognition, as long as his invention benefited humanity.

Secondly, Murgas forgot about his patents with the coming of World War I. His main concern turned to the formation of a Czech-Slovak state. "On February 22, 1911, Murgas founded the Slovak Catholic Federation of America in Wilkes-Barre. It's purpose was to unite all Slovaks in America, their parishes, and institutions."[22] Murgas was also the co-founder of the Slovak League of America. As chairman of the Federation, Murgas raised over one million dollars toward the cause of the establishment of a Czecho-Slovak Republic. From 1915 to 1918, Murgas devoted his time toward the establishment of the Republic. Let it be known, however, that this was not a popular activity among his people, since Czechs and Slovaks have tradionally distrusted each other. Murgas was undaunted, however, and continued his work and belief in a combined Czech-Slovak State.

After World War I, Czecho-Slovakia was established, but Murgas' hopes were severely dashed. "The Czechs immediately siezed control of the government, and incidents of rank injustice against Catholic Slovakia were reported."[23] Murgas was willing to support Czech leadership much to the dismay of Slovak nationalists. The end came, however, when the Czech government set up a National Church to counter the Roman Catholic Church. "Czcehoslovak" became a hated term among Slovaks.

This was not what Murgas expected in return for his loyalty to the Czech cause, but all the Slovaks would say was "I told you so!" Murgas was deeply hurt but maintained his dignity. He retured into utter seclusion, going about his Church duties, painting, and fishing. The turn of events in Czecho-Slovakia, and the disdain of his people defeated him where the patent issues could not. Murgas now preferred to be forgotten. Proof of this came in 1925 when Calvin Coolidge appointed Murgas as chairman of the National Radio Commission. Murgas declined.

On May 11, 1929, Murgas awoke early and said an early Mass. He returned to his rectory where he told the housekeeper that he felt tired and weak and was returning to bed. By two o'clock that afternoon he had died peacefully in his sleep.

Father Murgas was not only a scientist but an artist, botanist, and humanitatian. His genius is shown in his paintings as well as his scientific advances. Four United States Presidents-Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover-honored him in life and a fifth-Franklin Roosevelt-in death. It is hard to believe that a man who was at one time so internationally renowned should be forgotten in great encyclopedias and books on radio development. It cannot be denied that Murgas crowded more than his share of achievements into single lifetime.

The research and final composition of this paper has been very interesting, but at the same time, very frustrating. Available material for research in very slim, and even the parish has lost or destroyed whatever material it had. However, the interviewing of people who knew Father Murgas, has been almost like meeting him and his praise has been unlimited. It is said that individual contributions are never forgotten as are the people who composed them. I would contend that Father Murgas is one such composer.

FOOTNOTES

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2. Remarkable Slovak Personalities. p. 95.
3. Ibid., p. 96.
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6. Stephen Palickar, Rev. Joseph Murgas (Sunland, California: Cecil Anderson Publishing, 1950)
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8. Palickar., P. 26.
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10. Palickar., p. 27.
11. "Father Joseph Murgas-Radio Priest," Good Shephard, Vol. 48 (1974), p. 4.
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16. Palickar., p. 39.
17. Palickar., p. 54.
18. Good Shephard., p. 5.
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21. Mary T. Sterbinsky, "Summary of Rev. Murgas' Life". (Sacred Heart Parish Records), p. 4.
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THE POLISH AMERICAN

by

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History of Poland

A. Ages of Unwritten History

The history of Poland derives from written records covers only about 1,000 years, but the history of human life on the territory of present day Poland is 180 times longer. Clues that humans have left behind them in caves and soil deposits - skeletons, campfires and stone implements - indicate that they lived in the southern region about 180,000 years ago.

The fragmentary evidence suggests that during this long period repeated migratory waves of Indo-European peoples swept over prehistoric Poland. About 4,000 years ago, the proto-Slavs and the proto-Balts broke away from the common ancestral stock and formed a Balto-Slavic community. After not quite 1,000 years, the community split into two groups, the Baltic occupying the northern coastal area, and the Slavs holding the region to the south.

During the next 1,000 years various Slavonic tribes emerged out of this proto-Slavic group. With the opening of the 10th Century, two Slavic tribes, direct forebears of the Poles, acquired positions of territorial dominance: The southern Wislanie and the northern Polanie. When the Wislanie temporarily fell under the sway of Bohemia, the Polanie became the chief consolidators of the Polish territory. They also gave Poland its first dynasty - the Piasts, 24 of whom ruled the country for over 400 years.

B. Beginning of Written History

Poland entered written history with Mieszko, the first of the Piast rulers (963-992). Mieszko is linked with two events of prime importance - the emergence of the Polish state and its formal acceptance of Christianity in the second half of the 10th century.

Mieszko was succeeded by his son, Boleslaw, who like his father was called in the beginning "the Prince of Poland" - the land of the plainsmen, the dwellers of the plains (from the Polish word for field - "pole.") Boleslaw spent most of his long reign consolidating and expanding his realm, in defending it against the repeated attacks of Emperor Henry II, and in strengthening his own position within the country. He was crowned the first king of Poland in 1025, shortly before his death.

C. A Kingdom Divided

The latter part of the 12th century marked the breakup of Poland's hereditary principalities into increasingly smaller units. The name Kingdom of Poland remained, but the country ceased to be a consolidated entity and turned into a loose federation of independent principalities subject to repeated subdivision. This feudal structure brought about the demise of central leadership in favor of individual local authorities, both clerical and secular.

The lack of supreme royal authority in the 13th century, made the country vulnerable to foreign invasion. Poland was attacked from the north by pagan Lithuanians. The south-central portion of the country was invaded by Tartar hordes, which plundered and devasted the land. The German Teutonic Order of knights wrought death and devastation also, and massacred the pagan Prussians (a Baltic people akin to the Lithuanians), so that all that remained of the native population was the name Prussian, which the Germans later adopted for themselves.

The German enclave of Prussia on Balto-Slavonic territory remained a major threat to Polish security until the defeat of Hitler's Third Reich.

D. Reunification of the Polish Kingdom

The threat posed by Teutonic expansion accelerated Polish reunification efforts, and the monarchy was eventually reestablished, under Wladyslaw. The task of unification was continued by Casimir the Great (1333-1370), who is credited with consolidating royal authority, codifying the laws and reforming the country's financial structure through the introduction of taxation and a unified monetary system. His achievements also included the founding of Cracow University in 1364, the second oldest in Central Europe (now known as Jagiellonian University at Cracow).

E. The Jagiellonian Era

Beginning in 1386, the Jagiellonian dynasty ruled Poland for nearly two hundred years. During this time, Poland became the largest country on the European continent. In the early 15th century, Lithuania was threatened by aggression from the Teutonic knights. When Poland intervened on behalf of Lithuania, the Teutonic Order declared war on both countries, but were defeated by the combined Polish-Lithuanian forces. War broke out again with the Teutonic Order in 1454 and ended with a German defeat and the Treaty of Torun (1466).

F. The 17th Century

Following the Treaty of Torun, relative peace reigned for nearly a century. With the death of the last of the Jagiellonian dynasty, Poland entered a period of 222 years of elective kingship. Eleven successive monarchs of differing nationalities took the throne, and Poland became embroiled in wars with Sweden, Russia and Turkey.

G. Saxon Misrule

Succeeding the Germans, August II and his son, August III, who ruled during one of the darkest eras of the nation's anals, was the last King of Poland - Stanislaw August Poniatowski. Enlightened culturally, but weak as a ruler, Stanislaw led the once powerful Royal Republic to the brink of disaster. Knowing that Poland would be unable to put up any effective resistance, the Prussian king, Frederick II, proposed in 1772, the first partition of Poland to the Russian tsarina, Catherine the Great, and the Austrian emperor, Joseph II. In 1793, Prussia and Russia proceeded to effect the second partition. Patriotic forces rose in defense of the homeland under the leadership of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, but the uprisings were crushed. The king was forced to abdicate and in 1795 the third and final partition spelled the demise of the Royal Republic. Poland was dismembered and blotted from the map of Europe.

The three partitions had wiped Poland off the map but could not destroy the Polish nation. Despite persistent Russification and Germanization, the Poles never gave up their desire for independence nor their struggle for national liberation. Hence, the 19th century witnessed several Polish anti-partitionist uprisings. The various uprisings did not bring independence, but they strengthened the Polish peoples' national and civic awareness.

H. The Reborn Polish Republic (1918-1939)

World War I provided the Poles with the hope that one of the antagonistic powers would advance the cause of Polish independence. At it turned out, however, the empires that had once dismembered Poland, now themselves collapsed, as if by a stroke of historical justice. The Prussian state and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy were no more and tsarist Russia was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution in October, 1917.

One of President Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" called for an independent Poland with free access to the sea. The Treaty of Versailles (1919) reestablished Poland's independence. After 123 years of political non-existence, a free Polish state reappeared on the map of Europe.

I. World War II and the Occupation Period

The Second World War began September 1, 1939, with Hitler's blitzkrieg attack on Poland without a declaration of war. The country, militarily ill-prepared, was overrun after a month of valiant struggle against overwhelming German odds. During this tragic month, Soviet troops also entered the eastern territories of Poland. The two powers, carrying out a prior secret pact, left Poland partitioned until June 21, 1941, when the Third Reich attacked the U.S.S.R.

Once again, Poland ceased to exist as an independent political state. The Polish nation, however, never fully capitulated but remained undaunted despite unprecedented oppression. The Polish people opposed the occupation forces through organized resistance movements. Members of the underground and partisan units sabotaged Nazi subjugation efforts. Thousands of Allied lives were saved by this determined opposition which kept several German divisions on Polish territory. The Poles also fought in Allied formations on many battle fronts of World War II.

Much more can be written about the difficult days of the war, about Nazi and Soviet concentration camps and the atrocities perpetrated in them, about the Soviet massacre of thousands of Polish officers and intellectuals in Katyn Forest, about the inhuman refusal of the Russian Armies poised just outside the city limits to assist the Warsaw uprising of Polish patriots, the signal for which the Soviets themselves had given.

J. Post-War Poland

The Polish Committee of National Liberation, organized under Soviet auspices issued the July Manifesto in 1944 which laid the foundations of post-war Poland as a socialist people's republic, functioning within the Soviet bloc.

Poland emerged out of the war twenty percent smaller in territory, one-third reduced in population and burdened with reconstruction problems of enormous proportions. Over six million Polish citizens (one-fifth of the total population) had lost their lives on various battlefields, in Nazi extermination camps such as Auschwitz, Treblink, Belzec, Majdanek and in atrocities like the Katyn Forest massacre.

Undaunted by the enormousness of the problems, the Polish people undertook a massive campaign to remove the scars of wartime devastation and to build a new Poland that would be free and flourishing again.

Poland had demonstrated over a thousand years that whatever may be its location on the map, its boundaries are forever fixed in the indomitable hearts and boundless faith of the Polish people.

Present-day Poland lies at the very center of Europe. Her natural frontiers are the Carpathian and Sudeten mountains to the south and the Baltic Sea to the north. Bordering Poland is the Soviet Union on the east, the German Democratic Republic on the west and Czechoslavakia on the south, with a 325 mile coastline on the north. The borders were established at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences in 1945 by the Allied Nations and roughly correspond to the boundaries of 10th century Poland. The country measures 402 miles north to south and 427 miles east to west, accounting for three percent of the territory of Europe. in area and population Poland ranks seventh in Europe, with a population of over 33 million.

II. MIKOLAJ KOPERNIK (NICOLAUS COPERNICUS)
FATHER OF MODERN ASTRONOMY

A. Torun

In the Polish town of Torun, on the 19th of February, 1473, Mikolaj Kopernik (later to be known in Latin as Nicholaus Copernicus) was born, the fourth and youngest child in a house on the street now bearing his name then called St. Anna's Street. Following the death of his father, Mikolaj was placed under the guardianship of his uncle and began his studies at Jagiellonian University in Krakow in 1492.

B. Italy

In 1495, Kopernik left for studies in Italy, as his interest in astronomy blossomed. In 1500, he presented lectures on astronomy so noteworthy that Da Vinci was among those in attendance.

C. Return to Poland

In 1506, Kopernik returned to Poland where he began his duties to the Church as an advisor and an administrator. He was appointed canon of Varmia at Frombork. Impressed by Columbus' discovery of America and dissatisfied with Ptolemy's explanation of the Solar System, Kopernik observed the heavens, collected astounding quantities of astral measurements and finally produces a theory for the movements of the sun and moon, the planets and other heavenly bodies. While Ptolemy theorized that the sun revolved around the earth, Kopernik developed a simpler theory: the earth and the other planets revolve around the sun.

D. The Heliocentric Theory

At one time, Kopernik's discovery was fairly tersely comprehended in Poland. "He arrested the Sun, he moved the Earth." Today every student of physics and astronomy can accomplish this mental activity. But for it to have become so simple it was necessary for someone to have been the first to do it. Kopermik accomplished it at a time when there still could have been no possible talk of the relativity of motion. He was the precursor of the basis of this principle later discovered by Galileo. In acertain sense he was a precursor of Newton, since only in the system Kopernik chose for the future generations was it possible to create a reasonable dynamics of the planetary system. All His celestial observations were done without a telescope. All his computations were done without the aid of calculus or computers. Truly a monumental achievement.

In 1542, the final version of his greatest work, "Concerning the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres," was sent to the printer. The Discoverer of the Universe received the first copy on his deathbed in 1543. He died on May 24, never having seen the acceptance of the work that revolutionized the scientific world.

III. POLISH PIONEERS IN AMERICA

A. Columbus and Before

The average American has an idea that the Poles in our country came here along about the 1880's or soon thereafter. . . and that the immigration from Poland was stepped up in the early part of the 20th century. The same average American thinks that the only Poles who ever made any contribution to this country before the last decade of the 19th century were Kosciuszko and Pulaski.

Most of us think that anyone with a name ending in "ski" is of a generation of newcomers, fresh from the old country. But the people with names ending in "ski" have been in this country as long as the Smiths and the Jeffersons, the Randolphs and the others with more pronounceable names.

On board when Columbus reached these shores was a Pole named Francis Warnadowicz, who remained for a time to defend the new discovery. He was also the first European to be killed by Indians on this continent. So we see Polish blood spilled for this country even before the year 1500. Another Pole, Stanislaus Polonus printed several books in Spain about the exploration of Columbus. There is even some speculation that a Polish explorer, Jan of Kolno, commissioned by King Christian of Denmark, reached American shores sixteen years before Columbus.

B. Polish Pioneers in Jamestown

Barely a year after it was founded, England's first settlement in America stood on the verge of collapse. Jamestown has a magnificent leader in the tall young soldier, Capt. John Smith; but most of the colonists sent out with him were "gentlemen adventurers" - no match for the tough job they faced in the wilderness. But on September 25, 1608, a small ship sailed up the James River bearing six skilled artisans. Axes in hand, they followed Smith into the woods and set about making a clearing.

Within three weeks they had a roaring fire going under a glass furnace, the first factory in the English Colonies in America. They tapped the pine trees and distilled tar and pitch. They set up a soap works and erected a saw mill.

Surprisingly, this handful to whom Smith later gave credit for saving the colony were not Englishmen at all. Their names were Lowicki, Stefanski, Mata, Bogdan, Zrenica, and Sadowski, and they landed in America 12 years before the Mayflower. Before setting out for America, John Smith had visited Poland and was impressed by the skill, the industry, and the reliability of the Polish people. When the new colony at Jamestown was threatened with failure, Smith sent out the urgent plea to England for Polish workers.

A great deal of what we know about peoples in American history depends upon how well historians have popularized certain personalities. Every American school kid knows that an Indian girl, Pocahontas, saved the life of the fabulous Captain Smith, but how many know that two Poles, Zbigniew Stefanski and Jan Bogdan, also saved the life of the intrepid captain when he was about to be ambushed by Indians? The record of this incident is chronicled in "The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia."

For 12 years, while the settlement swung between success and failure, the Poles worked hard at their jobs. These men proved to be such an asset to the First English colony that more of their fellow countrymen were invited to settle here. In a few years fifty Poles were living in Jamestown. As was the custom then, almost all of the colonists worked out their apssage by pledging themselves to work for the company which owned the settlement. Thus, in from two to three years, the immigrant's labor had repaid the company for the passage by skip from Europe, and they duly became free citizens of the community.

That brings us to another first event in America, the first blow for civil liberty and the right to citizenship on equal terms, which the Polish colony, in the Virginia of three centuries ago, successfully registered.

In the year 1619, the Jamestown colony was granted a form of self-government by the London company. That was a memorable year for the thriving little colony. Jamestown was divided into boroughs, boroughs in which every man who had worked up his indebtedness to the London Company was given the right to vote. Every man, that is, except the half-a-hundred Poles who monopolized the industries of Jamestown. The British colonists, dependent as they were on their Polish fellow settlers, arbitrarily decided that citizenship should be a privilege reserved for their own special group. While actually helping the young colony survive these Poles were in effect little better than serfs. This intolerable situation brought violent reactions from the Poles. For there is an old Polish saying which has survived as the very battle cry of Poles since the birth of their brave nation 1,000 years ago - "A Pole shall never be a serf." By 1619, their pride spilled over and the Poles, yearning for equality, shut down their own industries and went on strike - the first strike ever staged in the New World.

It is significant that this first strike was not staged by the Poles for economic gains. Instead, they demanded the right to vote, full equality with the others, and the right to own property. In the tiny community, this was equivalent to a major rebellion. It was the first political upheaval in America, for the purpose of extending democratic rights to the common man. Here was the first manifestation that America shall be a haven for the oppressed, a sanctuary for the free, and a bastion against the tyranny of serfdom.

The future of the Virginia colony - and perhaps the future of America - swung on the outcome of this strike. The leading people of Jamestown realized that the community could not survive very long without the good will of their most skilled workers. The strike was quickly brought to a successful conclusion. The Poles' grievances were heeded by the first parliament in American, the House of Burgess in Jamestown. Under the date of July 21, 1619 in the Court Book of the Virginia Company is the following:

> Upon some dispute of the Polonians resident in Virginia, it was now agreed (notwithstanding any former order to the contrary) that they shall be enfranchised, and made as free as any inhabitant there whatsoever: and because their skill in making pitch and tar and soapashes shall not die with them, it is agreed that some young men shall be put unto them to learn their skill and knowledge therein for the benefit for the country hereafter.
> (Vol. 1, p. 251)

Much of the history of the Poles in Jamestown has yet to be reconstructed from scattered, hidden and forgotten records. . . the story of Pioneers of Industry, Defenders of Liberty, Soldiers of Political Equality . . . the sotry to which Conway Whittle Sams has written in "The Conquest of Virginia," a beautiful motto: - "All we know of the Poles is to their credit."

From that day to this, succeeding waves of Polish immigrants have taken part in the building of the United States. Our development and progress as a free nation owes much to their character and ability. God-fearing and devoted to freedom, they have made contributions to our way of life that should be known and honored.

Today, the Poles among us - and their American-born descendants - total 12 million. Yet their essential character has never changed. Fleeing from impoverishment and oppression, most Polish immigrants have come to America endowed with two precious possessions: an astounding capacity for hard work, and a flaming love for the freedom denied them in their homeland.

IV. THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO
FATHER OF AMERICAN ARTILLERY

A. The Boy Who Was to Become the Hero of Two Continents

Tadeusz Kosciuszko was born in the village of Mereczowszczyzna on or around the 12th of February, 1746 - into a family of four children, two girls and two boys, of whom he was the youngest. He came of an old Polish family, with patents of nobility, relatively poor but proud of its traditions.

Following the custom of his social class, he was kept and taught at home, then was sent to a private "Prep School". In 1765, when he was nineteen, a new Royal Military School was established in Warsaw by the last king of Poland. Kosciuszko was accepted and graduated in 1769 as one of its hear scholars, attracting the personal attention and interest of the king. A year after graduation, he was one of the four recipients of the King's scholarships to continue his studies in military engineering in France (1770-1774). He was one of the early "exchange" scholars.

He returned to Poland after the First Partition of 1772, when there was no opportunity to serve his country. Meanwhile, the echo of the shots fired at Lexington and Concord reached his ears. As a soldier and trained engineer, he could sell his services to those who could pay and supply comfortable boots and warm uniforms. But he decided to cast his fortune on the side of George Washington and the cause of American Colonies. He borrowed money from his brother-in-law and came to America on a sailing vessel that took at least two months to cross the Atlantic.

On October 18, 1776, the Congress —

> "RESOLVED, that Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Esq., be appointed an engineer in the service of the United States, with the pay of sixty dollars a month, and the rank of Colonel."

While waiting for Congressional appointment, Kosciuszko laid out plans for the fortification of Billingsport, an island on the Delaware River, for the protection of Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Council of Safety on October 24th drew an order for the payment of 50 pounds to Kosciuszko as a reward for his services.

B. Ticonderoga

When General Horatio Gates, then in command of Philadelphia, was ordered by Congress (on March 25, 1777) to take command of Ticonderoga, he took Kosciuszko with him as his engineer. Gen. John Paterson was in immediate command of the Fort and Col. Baldwin was in charge of the fortifications.

As of May 8th Gen. Gates wrote to Gen. Paterson:

> "Lieut. Col. Kusiusco. . . .is an able Engineer . . . I desire he may have a Quarter assigned him, and when he has thoroughly made himself acquainted with the works, have ordered him to point out to you, where and in what manner the best improvements and additions can be made thereto."

Kosciuszko had examined the situation as requested by General Gates and had drawn plans for fortifications, but Col. Baldwin, in a fit of jealousy, did not approve Kosciuszko's plans.

On May 23rd, Gen. Gates wrote from Albany to Gen. Paterson:

> "I earnestly recommend it to You, to order Lieut, Colonel Kosciuszko's plan, to be immediately put in Execution . . . . Colonel Baldwin will gain my Affection, and Esteem, by cultivating the Friendship of this Capable Young Man; and he may be assured he can in nothing serve his Country more, than in going hand in hand, with him, in improving the Fortifications of Ticonderoga."

The problem of placing batteries, as per Kosciuszko's plans, on Sugar Loaf Hill, which had a steep ascent but a commanding position. Unfortunately, Col. Baldwin did not comply. On May 31st, James Wilkinson (Gen. Gates' adjutant general) wrote to Gen. Gates in Albany where Kosciuszko was at the time:

> "The works are now pushed on Baldwin's unmeaning plan. — For God's sake, let Kosciuszko come back as soon as possible, with proper authority."

Meanwhile, Gen. Arthur St. Clair took command of Ticonderoga and he did not believe in the practicality of placing a battern on Sugar Loaf Hill, though urged by Gen. Gates to do so. On June 30th, the army of Burgoyne appeared at Ticonderoga and on July 5th the Americans saw, to their surprise, a British battery on the top of Sugar Loaf Hill, thus completely vindicating the opinion of Kosciuszko. The Americans had to retreat in disarray and in lamentable condition-badly armed, men and officers half naked, sickly, with frequent desertions.

Maj. John Armstrong later commented:

> "In the retreat of the American army Kosciuszko was distinguished for activity and courage and upon him developed the choice of camps and posts and everything connected with fortifications."

C. Saratoga

On August 4, 1777, Gates was reappointed by the Continental Congress to be in command of the Northern Army. He put his troops on the move, restored their morale, and was permitted to have Kosciuszko as his chief engineer. Kosciuszko was sent forward to select a suitable position that was best fitted for defense. He chose Bemis' Heights at Saratoga and fortified the camp with redoubts. On this ground, chosen and fortified by Kosciuszko, Burgoyne surrendered to Gen. Gates on October 17, 1777. This is generally regarded at the turning point of the American Revolution.

Gen. Gates modestly told Dr. Benjamin Rush:

> ". . . let us be honest. In war, as in medicine, Natural Causes not under our control, do much. In the present case (i.e., Saratoga), the great tacticians of the campaign, were hills and forests, which a Young Polish Engineer was skillful enough to select for my encampment."

News of Kosciusxko's merits reached the ear of the Commander-in-Chief. Gen. Gates urged that Kosciuszko be promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. But since that would induce jealousy, Kosciuszko wrote to Col Troup, who was then accompanying Gen. Gates to York. (January 17, 1778).

> "My dear Colonel if you see that my promotion will make a great many Jealous, tell the General (Gates) that I will not accept one because I prefer peace more than the greatest Rank in the World."

D. West Point

On March 26, 1778, Col Troup (then in Albany) wrote Gen. Gates:

> "Kosziuszko left this (place), for West Point, on Monday. When I cease to love this Young Man, I must cease to love those Qualities which form the brightest and completest of characters."

The control of the Hudson was of tremendous importance to the Americans, as it prevented the British from splitting the American forces and of defeating them separately - East and West of the Hudson. And the fortified Highlands at West Point made control of the Hudson possible. Washington regarded West Point as the most important post in America.

> "Until 1778", writes George Bancroft, the historian, "West Point was a solitude, nearly inaccessible; now it was covered by fortresses with numerous redoubts, constructed chiefly under the direction of Kosciuszko as engineer, and so connected as to form one system of defense, which was believed to be impregnable."

When, on June 13, 1780, Gen. Gates was ordered by the Congress to take command of the Southern Department, he wrote George Washington on June 21st:

> "I could wish your Excellency would somewhat Brighten the Scene by indulging me in my request to obtain Colonel Kosciuszko for my Chief Engineer. His Services with me in the Campaign of 77, and the High Opinion I entertain of His Talents, and His Honour, induce me to be thus importunate with your Excellency, to let me have the Colonel for my Chief Engineer."

It will be recalled that Kosciuszko was at West Point over 28 months, from March 26, 1778 till August 7, 1780.

E. With the Southern Army

Washington granted Gates' request. Kosciuszko left West Point on August 7th and on August 12th visited Washington at his hearquarters in Orange Town - to thank the Commander-in-Chief for his permission to join Gates and to take leave of him. In a few days, Kosciuszko reached Philadelphia, to spend a week with old friends. While still in Philadelphia, Gates was defeated at Camden, South Carolina, on August 16, 1780, and was replaced by Gen. Nathaniel Greene. However, Kosciuszko proceeded South as per orders and remained with the Army of the South under Gen. Greene till the end of the war. His chief functions were to survey the whole field of operations, indicate strategic points, determine possible sources of food and water supply, and to devise means of rapid transportation of troops and provision - especially in the crossing of streams and rivers - in a campaign conducted in marshy and reptile- infested regions. When the campaing changed into guerrilla warfare, as was often the case, Kosciuszko disregarded his rank and fought with the rest as a common soldier.

F. A Congressional Resolution

After the War and upon recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary of War, on October 13, 1783, Congress passed the following resolution:

> "RESOLVED, that Secretary of War transmit to Colonel Kosciuszko the brevet commission of Brigadier General and signify to that officer that Congress entertain a high sense of his long, faithful and meritorious services."

G. Return to Poland

Upon his return to Poland he was made - by popular acclaim - Commander-in-Chief of the Polish insurrectionary forces against Russia in 1794, called Polish peasants to arms for the first time in Polish history, was victorious in the first Battle at Raclawicie, was wounded in the Battle of Maciejowice and taken prisoner of war to Russia where he remained for two years. With his defeat Poland lost its identity as an independent power.

H. Last Will and Testament

Upon release by Tsar Paul I, came to America in 1797, and upon leaving America in May, 1798, Kosciuszko left his last will and testament which reads as follows:

> "I, THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO, being just on my departure from America, do hereby declare and direct, that, should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend, Thomas Jefferson, to employ the whole thereof in purchasing Negroes from among his own or any others and giving them liberty in my name, in giving them an education in trade or otherwise and in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality, which may make them good neighbors, good fathers, and mothers, husbands and wives, in their duty as citizens, teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and country, of the good order of society, and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful; and I make the said Thomas Jefferson executor of this.
>
> T. KOSCIUSZKO
> 5th of May, 1798"

I. Conclusion

Jefferson's tribute to Kosciuszko probably best characterizes America's regard for its Polish hero. "Kosciuszko," wrote Jefferson, "is the purest son of liberty I have ever known."

And to those of us who came to America after Kosciuszko to share in the fruits of liberty which he helped to secure, and to our children and our children's children, he will forever remain a reminder that he have not come empty-handed.

V. COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI
FATHER OF THE AMERICAN CAVALRY

Of all the officers who took part in the American War of Independence, Count Casimir Pulaski, a polish patriot and revolutionary soldier, was the most romantic and professionally the most prominent. He was born at Winiary, in the province of Podolia, on March 4, 1746. Casimir was the son of Count Joseph Pulaski, who was the Chief Magistrate of Warech, a distinguished jurist and a member of one of the oldest noble families in Europe.

In 1768, after extensive military training, Casimir Pulaski returned to Poland and joined in active rebellion with his father, who founded the Confederation of Bar to combat the foreign domination of Poland. Eventually, Pulaski's forces were crushed and scattered and Casimir was outlawed and his estates confiscated.

The Declaration of Independence by the American Congress at once enlisted Pulaski's sympathy. He realized that America was a new field in which to vindicate with his sword the rights of man, the laws of justice, and the same civil and political liberty for which he had fought in vain in Poland. Pulaski determined to fight her cause and applied to Dr. Franklin to aid him in securing a commission in the American army. Impressed with Count Pulaski's splendid record and with the sincerity of his motives, Dr. Franklin furnished Pulaski with letters to General Washington. According to the letters of Dr. Franklin, Count Pulaski had already distinguished himself before he took up the rebel cause. In one letter, Franklin stated: "Count Pulaski is esteemed one of the greatest officers in Europe."

Pulaski arrived in Boston in July, 1777, when the condition of the Continental Army was wretched, and the prospect of an early end to the war remote. The war seemed to present an endless perspective of contests with comparatively little hope of ultimate success. The following month, Pulaski met General Washington and received from him a letter to the Continental Congress. During the first eighteen months of the war, there had been no regular cavalry. In the former wars no mounted force could have been used, as the frontiers and our interminable forests precluded their efficiency, and this had induced an opinion that such an arm of the service could never be of much value on the seaboard. Finally, at the earnest suggestion of General Washington, provision was made for four regiments of cavalry, but until the arrival of Pulaski, the Continental Cavalry was not united and was under no higher leader than that of Colonel. To meet this deficiency, Washington had recommended to Congress, Count Pulaski for the post. Thus Pulaski became the first cavalry officer of the Republic and proved his military abilities to be outstanding.

As a result of his conduct at the Battle of Brandywine with General Washington, Congress awarded to Count Pulaski a commission as Brigadier General in command of all the cavalry of the American forces. Pulaski went on to distinguish himself in the battles of Warren Tavern, Little Egg Harbor and Charleston. In the defense of Savannah, 1779, Count Pulaski was mortally wounded; he died on board the United States brig WASP where he had been taken for treatment. His heroic death made his name even more popular in America, as is attested by the number of memorials erected to his memory. Recognition of General Pulaski Day has also been widespread throughout the nation; a dozen or more states have made it officially a day of celebration. New York holds enthusiastic festivities culminating in an impressive parade down Fifth Avenue, Detroit, Chicago, and Savannah also observe the day with great pomp and ceremony. Even Poland has for some years observed the day with commemorative celebrations.

VI. EARLY IMMIGRATION AND POLISH AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

Polish immigration can roughly be divided into three periods: 1) the colonial period (1608-1776), when the newcomers were chiefly artisans and adventurers; 2) the period of political immigration, when the intelligentsia — soldiers, noblemen, writers and political exiles — began to escape from Europe because of oppressive conditions at home (1776-1865); 3) the period of economic immigration (1865 to date) - when the group was largely composed of peasants and unskilled workers. This last period has seen the greatest bulk of Polish immigration.

During the nineteenth century the Polish people were living under three regimes - these had been established by the third partition of Poland in 1795 - the largest group under Russian domination, the second largest under Prussia, and the smallest group in Galicia ruled by Austria. The actual number who migrated to the United States is somewhat in doubt, because they did not come with passports from Poland, but from Prussia, Austria and Russia.

Although the number of Polish immigrants was not large until the 1880's, a few agricultural colonists with their families came before that time and found a place in American agriculture. Among them were the groups that founded Panna Maria in Texas during the 1850's, Polonia, Wisconsin, in the same decade; and Parisville, Michigan. The increase of the tide can be observed from the fact that 7000 came in 1860-70; 34,000 in 1870-80; 99,000 from 1880-90; and 236,000 from 1890-1900.

As the number kept increasing, the trend toward the cities began. Before long, individuals from the same provinces began to draw together in nucleated centers in each city, forming Polish colonies known as the Polonia. Even though the Polonians endured some of the discrimination shown to all foreign groups, they nevertheless actually found freedom in the absence of pressure to assimilate them, and they began to organize with great fervor.

The Polonia was organized in two chronological stages. A preliminary period of transition and orientation gave way to forming of a mutual benefit organization or "society." The members of the community who had forged ahead economically were often the leaders in the new group. Before its formation there were often collections for the poorer members of the colony beset by death or misfortune. The impulse to put this benefit on a more businesslike basis (parallel with the later development of community chests) motivated the leaders to form, with all other members of the colony, a society to which each person would contribute a regular share of his earnings and from which he would have the privilege to collect benefits as a matter of right rather than favor. This insurance principle constituted the formative principle of the organization, but was not eventually its main purpose.

In time the society became a sort of social club that arranged dances, musicals, dramatic entertainments, lectures, and other events in which members of the colony could participate, using their own language and customs. As the community grew, Poles from all three sections of Poland came together and found a common life.

Before long, the purely local character of the Polonia was no longer sufficient, and the demand to combine all Polish Americans in a common body of interest began in the latter part of the nineteenth century. From the first the strongest of these organizations was the Polish National Alliance.

On May 12, 1910 the Polish National Congress convened at the New National Theater in Washington, D.C. More than 1,000 representatives from various Polish organizations throughout the country were in attendance.

The list of Polish organizations and institutions in the United States is exhaustive. Included are:

1) POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE
Chicago, Illinois - Atty. Alojzy A. Mazewski, President

2) THE ORCHARD LAKE SCHOOLS
Orchard Lake, Michigan - The Very Rev. John Ziemba, Rector

3) ALLIANCE COLLEGE
Cambridge Springs, Pa. - Dr. J. Szymanowski, Rector

4) THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
New York City, N.Y. - Dr. John Gronouski, President
Dr. Ludwik Krzyzanowski, Editor

5) THE POLISH UNION OF NORTH AMERICA
Wilkes-Barre, Pa. - Henry Dende, President

6) THE SAVONAROLA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
Scranton, Pa. - The Most Rev. T. Zielinski, Rector

7) THE POLISH NATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA
Scranton, Pa. - Mr. Vincent Yuszkiewicz, President

8) THE KOSCIUSZKO FOUNDATION
New York City, N.Y. - Dr. Eugene Kusielewicz, President

9) THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS
Chicago, Illinois - Atty. Alojzy A. Mazewski, President

10) IMMIGRATION HISTORY RESEARCH CENTER
St. Paul, Minn. - Dr. Frank Renkiewicz, Research Associate

11) POLISH ROOM
Wilkes College, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. - Mrs. Jule Znaniecki, President

Forty-six colleges and universities throughout the nation offer courses in Polish language, history and culture. There are also 63 Polish archive centers and 61 newspapers, bulletins, newsletters and religious and academic journals throughout the United States.

VII. RELIGIOUS LIFE

The second step of the colony was to organize the Polish parish. Like other nationality groups predominately Catholic, the Poles on their arrival in America found themselves attending churches in which their own language was never heard and which were often shepherded by Irish priests. Sometimes, as for example in Detroit, the incoming Poles who migrated from Prussia to get away from the German dominance could find no other Catholic churches in which they might worship except German parishes.

For ages in Europe, churches and parsonages were built by the states or aristocracy. In the United States, churches were not built either by the government or by the wealthy, nor did parishes get grants of fields, forests or lakes. The income of the Church depended entirely upon the devotion and generosity of its people, who, as a rule were indigent workers. But many devout parishioners soon furnished the money to erect churches of their own, and soon Polish congregations began springing up all over the country. The sacrifices were incredible.

Once procured by the people, the church then became the property of the bishop, since lay believers were not allowed to administer the rights of the Church estates. In many instances, requests for Polish priests and bishops were largley ignored by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Conflicts began to erupt in many Polish parishes.

The Polish National Catholic Church

Out of these conflicts grew several independent church movements in Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, and most significantly, Scranton, Pennsylvania. It was in Scranton that the Polish National Catholic Church, which was later to include the other independent movements, had its beginning in 1897 under the leadership of Father Francis Hodur, a Roman Catholic priest. At the outset, Father Hodur and his followers wanted the right to own church properties which they built, parish committees to administer the properties, and a voice in the selection of priests and bishops.

Many people followed Father Hodur, while others chose to remain within the Roman Catholic Church where strides were made in order to meet the needs of the Polish people. The first Roman Catholic bishop of Polish extraction was consecrated in 1908.

The official break between Rome and the Polish National Catholic Church came in the form of a letter of excommunication in 1898. Father Hodur was later elected the first bishop of the Church and was consecrated in the Old Catholic Church in Utrecht, Holland in 1907. There are currently approximately 160 Polish National Catholic parishes throughout the United States and Canada. Gradually, the Church has developed its own ideology and introduced the use of the vernacular (Polish) into its services as early as 1900. The Church is also unique in that having been organized in the United States, it was then spread to the Fatherland, Poland, where a number of parishes were established.

Currently in the ecclesiastical field, there is John Cardinal Krol and eight Ordinary and Auhiliary Bishops in the Roman Catholic Church and Prime Bishop Thaddeus Zielinski and 7 Bishops in the Polish National Catholic Church.

In Luzerne County, the first Polish parish was St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic Church in Nanticoke (1875), followed by St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Plymouth (1887). Today, there are 28 Polish parishes in the County, both Roman Catholic and Polish National Catholic.

VIII. SCIENCE, LITERATURE MUSIC AND THE ARTS

Polish and Polish-American contributions to the arts and sciences is virtually endless:

In science, Maria Sklodowska (1867-1934), known as Madame Curie, is perhaps the best known, second only to Copernicus. In addition, there is Karol Olszewski (1846-1915) who revolutionized science by liquifying oxygen; Napoleon Cybulski (1854-1919) discoverer of the first known hormone; Kazimierz Funk (1884-1967) discoverer of vitamins; and Rudolf Weigl (1883-1957) discoverer of the typhus microbe.

In literature, Adam Michiewicz, Poland's foremost poet (1798-1855) leads the list. There is also Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846-1914) author of _Quo Vadis_ and the first Polish Nobel Prize winning author; and Teodor Jozef Konrad Korzeniowski (1857-1924), who, as Joseph Conrad, became a master of the English novel.

In music, Polish names resound: Frederyk Chopin (1810-1849), the immortal composer and Poet of the Piano; Stanislaw Moniuszko (1819-72) composer of the first Polish opera; Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860-1941) famed pianist and statesman; and Arthur Rubenstein (1886-), perhaps the century's greatest pianist.

Polish Americans and their contributions would be difficult to document in so short a time frame, but they include educators such as Dr. Alexander Curtius (Alexander Kurcyusz); explorers such as John Anthony Sadowski (1669-1736) for whon Sandusky, Ohio is named; mapmakers; soldiers; philanthropists; theologians; authors, scientists, musicians, and numerous others.

IX. THE POLISH EXPERIENCE IN LUZERNE COUNTY

It is extremely difficult to find competent local histories of the Polish people, but we do know that Poles were a part of Pennsylvania since the days of William Penn. Much information can be gathered from parish annals and from the proliferation of Polish newspapers. By far, the greatest influx of Polish People arrived in the area since 1880, and many made their living in the coal mines of Northeastern Pennsylvania.

Dr. Joseph J. Kocyan

One of the most prominent of the Poles in the Wyoming Valley, was Dr. Jsoeph J. Kocyan. Dr. Kocyan was born in 1884 in Baltimore, Maryland. Following his extensive medical education, he opened his offices in Plains Township. He was a member of the medical staff of the Wilkes-Barre General Hospital since 1916, serving at various times as Chief-of-Service in the Department of Obstetrics; director of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology; President of the Medical Staff, Chairman of the Medical Committee; and instructor for twenty-five years in the School of Nursing. He was also associated with other hospitals in the Wilkes-Barre area.

Dr. Kocyan was active in his profession. He was a member of the board and founder of the American Board of Obstetrics and Gynecology, and was also a fellow of the Academy of Internal Medicine and of the American College of Surgeons. He was President of the Luzerne County Medical Society and a member of the Board of the Cancer Society. He also served three terms as president of the Family Service Association. A former President of the Lehigh Valley Medical Association, he was organizer, in 1935, of the medical staff of St. Stanislaus Institute. He was likewise Chief Medical Examiner of the Polish Union and the Polish National Alliance. In recognition of his efforts in behalf of asthma victims, he was made a life member of the Silicosis League. Dr. Kocyan was a trustee and former Chairman of the Board of the General Pulaski Memorial Committee of Wyoming Valley, trustee of Wilkes College, and President of the Tatra and Sarmatia Clubs. He was a member of SS. Peter and Paul's Church, in Plains Township.

In World War I, he was a Major in the Army Medical Corps in France and Belgium. He was an officer in the Reserve Corps of the U.S. Public Health Service in World War II.

Despite all of his professional and civic activities, Dr. Kocyan was extremely active in his support of The Kosciuszko Foundation. After serving many years as a member of the Board of Trustees, he was elected Chairman of the Board in 1955. He laid much of the groundwork for the Foundation's current cultural programs with Poland.

X. THE CULTURALLY PLURALISTIC POLISH AMERICAN

From: Who Am I? Reflections of a Young Polish
American on the Search for Identity.
By Rev. Leonard F. Chrobot.

The ideal Polish American is convinced that the future must be nourished and sustained by the past. We believe in the validity of this tradition because of the type of person it has produced. From a wasteland of conformity, he emerges as a refreshing exception.

The ideal Polish American knows who he is. He is able to stand erect because he has achieved self-identity. The basis of this self-identity must come from a source outside of himself, from a faith in God. This faith must be tempered by the experience of suffering. It is not sectarian, but it must come from a tradition which has deeply felt this faith, and has suffered to prove it.

The ideal Polish American loves his country because it has given him the freedom to become truly himself. He deeply respects the amount of blood, sweat, and sacrifice that was necessary to build it. And he is anxious to add his own unique contribution to make it still better.

He really loves people, all kinds. He understands their differences and is tolerant of their faults. While remaining an individual himself, he realizes the importance of community, and how important it is in effecting a real change in mankind.

The ideal Polish American is sympathetic with the plight of his fellow Americans who are black, because he understands far better than most the path which they must follow. He knows that the temporary necessity of separatism for Blacks is a step he had taken long ago to achieve his own identity. He does not wish for two separate Americas, one black and one white, but he knows of the pressures of the majority to mock a heritage and force uniformity.

The ideal Polish American is warm and hospitable, because he springs from a tradition which welcomes a guest as one of his own. Above all he loves life, with a robust passion. He is down-to-earth, because his ancestors knew the earth so well.

He knows the language, literature, and culture of at least two nations and is therefore able to appreciate his own so much more. He thanks God on his knees each day for what he has in America, because he knows what the suffering of war has inflicted on his ancestors.

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CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF ST. STANISLAUS CHURCH

1875 - 1975

by

Jule Znaniecki

President, Wilkes-College
Polish Room Committee

Foreword

This history is written to commemorate the Centennial of St. Stanislaus Church. It is also a timely contribution to the Bicentennial observance of our country. It contains the early history of the Parish and an historical profile of the early Polish settlers of Nanticoke; thus contributing to the total story of America.

This historical summary is dedicated to the pioneer parishioners, clergy, and Sisters, whose deep faith, loving sacrifice, and perseverance made the Parish of St. Stanislaus a reality. We should dedicate ourselves to preserve this rich heritage for generations to come.

The Earliest Immigrants (Poles in American History)

The establishment of St. Stanislaus Church was probable the first organized effort of the group of Polish immigrants who settled in Nanticoke after the Civil War. The organization of the Polish language church within a decade of their arrival in Nanticoke emphasizes the importance of the Roman Catholic Church to the Polish people and how inextricably their language, culture, and religion are intertwined.

The newcomers from Poland had an impact on the very earliest days of American History - Jamestown, Va. - in 1607. Then during the American Revolution, the great Polish heroes, Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Casimir Pulaski, became American heroes. The passion of the Poles for liberty and high idealism in the service of God and country is well known. History records the bravery and accomplishments of the Polish Jamestown settlers, the two Polish Revolutionary war heroes, and also three Polish generals of Civil War fame - Karge, Krzyinowski, and Schoepf. Two Nanticoke Poles who participated in the Civil War were John Szumowski, who arrived here in 1855, and Joseph Stachowiak. This early background sets the pace of the fearless, enterprising, freedom-loving Poles who settled in Nanticoke.

In the latter half of the 19th Century Poland was partitioned and occupied by Germany, Russia, and Austria. Poles left partitioned Poland and came to America seeking freedom from political oppression and better economic conditions. Those who settled in Nanticoke were primarily from the province of Poznan where they had suffered intolerable conditions which included being forbidden to use their native tongue, their schools being totally subjected to German rules and restrictions, and being conscripted into the German army.

The early Polish emigres who settled in Nanticoke were a part of the large wave of Polish immigration to America which commenced in the 1850's. According to the Susquehanna Coal Co. records entrance of Poles into the Anthracite region can be traced to 1868. One of the earliest couples to arrive was Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Gorecki in 1857 and by 1872 there were over 100 Poles residing in Nanticoke. These early Polish immigrants had heard of this town and available jobs here through letters sent to relatives in Prussian Poland by German settlers in Nanticoke. After settling here, the Poles, in turn, sent letters encouraging their relatives and friends to move here. The letters described Nanticoke as a town of economic opportunity due to the booming mining industry and business opportunities.

The new immigrants were strangers in a strange land and found communication their first barrier. Although the majority spoke Polish and German, most of the earlier settlers spoke only English. Since the prevailing industry was coal mining, most of the immigrants encountered this language barrier when they applied for jobs in the collieries. Because some of their surnames were so difficult to pronounce, their English speaking "bosses" often renamed them. Thus Rzasa became Ronsa, Hajdukiewicz became Douglas, Sosnowski became Poland, Pczynski became Pease, and Wegrzunowicz became Wintergrass. Many laborers had difficulty becoming certified as miners since an oral test in the English language was required. The fact that within a short time the majority of certified miners were Polish is testimony of their triumph over the language barrier.

Religion and the Polish Culture

Religion and language were inseparable to a Pole. These Poles had fled from a Catholic country to one predominatly Protestant. Their Catholic Church had served and guided them ever since 966 A.D. when Poland's first historical ruler Mieszko was baptized and Poland was converted to Christianity. When the earlier settlers taunted them and riduculed their language, religion, and customs, they found this incredible. Not to worship in their own way was the greatest indignity a Pole could suffer. Often as they walked to church, they were harassed by name calling and rock-throwing. Finally, the Kosciuszko Guard, a patriotic society composed of veterans of the Prussian cavalry, came to their aid. Mounted on their horses, the Guard dispersed the crowd with drawn swords. Thus they displayed their intent to remain Catholic Poles.

The Poles have played a vital role in the history of the Catholic Church in America. Panna Maria, established in Texas in 1854, was the first Polish parish in America. The fact that the Poles have built 800 churches and schools in the U.S. is proof of their dedication and generosity. By 1899 there were 13 Polish congregations in this Diocese. At present there are 46 Polish churches. It is significant that St. Stanislaus is one of 50 Polish churches celebrating centennial jubilees throughout the U.S. this year. In the Scranton diocese, it shares this honor with only one other church, St. Mary's of Blossburg' but, in Luzerne County, it has the distinction of being the first Polish Catholic church. It remained the only Polish church in Nanticoke until the Holy Trinity Church was created in 1894, followed by St. Mary's in 1901.

A Mission Field

Prior to 1875, Nanticoke and the other mining towns in the vicinity were mission fields with services conducted sporadically in private homes by missionaries. In the interim, on Sundays and Holy Days, Poles gathered in homes in Pikes Peak, Honey Pot or Dziol (Jowel Hill), West Nanticoke, to recite the Rosary and sing hymns in memory of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Polish missionaries from Chicago arrived periodically to hear confessions in Polish, as well as offer Holy Mass. Father Szulak was one of those Jesuit missionaries who cared for their spiritual needs. Baptisms were conferred by him in Nanticoke but recorded at St. Nicholas in Wilkes-Barre. (See Appendix) Masses often took place in the Frank Miklosz home, which he himself built in 1869, on Prospect Street near Broad Street. Mass and the Sacraments were important to them regardless of where it took place.

Reverend Peter Nagel and St. Nicholas

These devout Poles had a strong desire to attend services held in a church. As there were no Polish language churches, the German speaking Poles chose to walk the long distance to Wilkes-Barre to attend the only German language church, St. Nicholas, organized in 1856. Early St. Nicholas ledgers, written in Latin or German, and signed by Rev. Nagel, Rev. Mattingly, or Rev. Deibel record 36 baptisms and 10 marriages of Nanticoke Polish settlers between 1872 and 1874. (See Appendix) Rev. Peter Nagel had become first resident pastor of St. Nicholas in 1858 and had charge of all German congregations in Northeastern Pa. At that time the Scranton diocese had not yet been formed and the Philadelphia diocese comprised the entire state of Pa. Not until 1868 was the Scranton diocese created, with Rev. Dr. William O'Hara as the first Bishop.

Most dear to a Pole are his church and his home. Even before their most pressing problems were solved, these Polish settlers began to take active steps toward building their own parish. Their numbers had increased and solidarity gave them strength, satisfaction, and a sense of purpose. It was Rev. Nagel, in 1874, who undertook the task of helping them organize. This was the same year that Nanticoke was incorporated as a borough.

The first parish document is an old ledger in which is recorded a list of the first 120 contributors and dated February 22 and 23, 1874. A total of $800. was collected toward construction of their church,under the patronage of St. Stanislaus, Bishop and Martyr of Cracow. The following is a translation of the Preface to the ledger which was originally written in both Polish and German by Father Nagel:

> "Record of contributions for the building of the
> Polish Catholic Church in Nanticoke, to be named
> St. Stanislaus.
> To certify that this is a list of voluntary donors
> for the construction of the first Polish Catholic
> Church of Nanticoke.
>
> (Signed) Rev. Nagel
> (See Appendix)

More donations in July, August, and September of the 1874 increased the total to $3,167. with a total of 241 donors for that year. The next entry is September, 1875, when $79.05 was collected for "support of the local priest, building of the Chapel, and various church needs." By 1875 additional new names brought the list of donors to 322.

A committee was selected and funds were collected. The Susquehanna Coal Co. offered a small plot of ground near a creek at the corner of Church and Maple Streets. A frame structure was built, adequate to serve their immediate needs. Made of wood, the original church was a modest, fifty-foot long building, erected on the site of the present church. The early settlers contributed their labor and used their limited funds for materials. Rev. Eugene Zychowicz, a Franciscan missionary, celebrated the first mass in the Polish language. Upon learning of the Polish services, Polish inhabitants of the neighboring villages of Newport, Hanover Township, and Plymouth, attended the church, arriving by horseback, horse and buggy, and by foot. Some traveled from Pittston, a journey of ten miles. Rev. Zychowicz remained at St. Stanislaus until June 1, 1876, a period of 9 months. During that time he conferred many baptisms, officiated at marriages, and conducted funerals which are recorded in an early church ledger. (See Appendix)

The parish was served from June 1, 1876, until October, 1877, by Rev. Joseph Juszkiewicz, a Franciscan Missionary, and from July 29 to September 20, 1877, by Rev. C. Mattingly.

Father Gramlewicz, The First Pastor

The first permanent pastor at St. Stanislaus Church was Rev. Ignatz Benevenuto Gramlewicz. Born in Poznan in 1837, he was ordained in 1862. He fled from Prussia in 1875 because he had helped a brother missionary escape over the border to flee from religious persecution resulting from Bismarck's "Kultur Kampf" policy. Rev. Gramlewicz arrived on October 1, 1877, having been assigned to St. Stanislaus by Bishop O'Hara. Having spent his first year from November, 1876, to October, 1877, in Blassburg, he was aware of the challenges facing him in a pioneer mining village.

On October 16, 1877, Rev. Gramlewicz recorded the deed for the two plots of land which were transferred by the Susquehanna Coal Co. to Bishop O'Hara for the token consideration of one dollar. The one parcel had 150 feet of road frontage on the north side of Church Street where the church was located. The other lot provided for a 250 foot frontage on the opposite side of the street. A parcel of land adjoining the St. Francis Cemetery was also donated by the Susquehanna Coal Co. The deed for the cemetery was recorded on October 15, 1877. By 1878, the first brick church was built and dedicated on November 11, 1878 by Bishop O'Hara. The membership of the church continued to expand with the population growth of the borough which by 1880 was 3,884. As a result, it bacame necessary to enlarge the church in 1883 and again in 1886, when it was reconstructed into the shape of a cross.

Early Education

Besides promoting the family's welfare, Polish parents emphasized the importance of religion and education. With their deep respect for education, church classes were begun almost simultaneously with the building of the church. They were held originally in the basement of the church soon after its reconstruction in 1883. The children attended one of five public schools in existence at that time, namely: West Main, Centennial, East Main (81 E. Main), Hanover (Middle Road), and Honey Pot. In order to preserve their Polish heritage, educated women such as Mrs. Anthony Klidzio, a former governess in Poland, Mrs. Twarowski, and later Mrs. Budzinski taught classes in the language, history and literature of Poland. From 1882 to 1885 George Knoll was not only an organist but also an instructor. Robinson's Directory of Plymouth and Nanticoke of 1889 states that St. Stanislaus had a membership of 2,000 and there were two lay teachers, Charles Okulewicz and Vincent Malkowski, who instructed the 230 children in the parochial school. By 1890, the Parish school attendance was 390 requiring the services of three lay teachers. At that time the parish had four hundred families - miners, farmers, storekeepers, grocers, butchers, saloon keepers, one druggist, and one undertaker.

Arrival of the Sisters

About 1890, Rev. Gramlewicz secured the services of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth from Chicago. Classes were still held in the church basement and the Sisters lived in a small house on Church Street until a convent was built in 1891-92. The first parishioner to enter the religious life was Augusta Chrzan who in 1894 joined the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth from Chicago. They were succeeded by the Felician Sisters from Detroit in 1893. St. Stanislaus made its next contribution to the religious life in 1894 when two of her parishioners, Anastasia Gorski and Bronislawa Chylla, entered the community of the Felician Sisters. After 6 years the Felician Sisters departed and the children were instructed by lay teachers. For one year they were taught by the School Sisters of St. Francis.

The Bernardine Sisters

The Bernardine Sisters were invited to teach on a full-time basis. The Bernardine Order came into existence more than 5 centuries ago in Poland. Four of them came to the United States in 1894, to teach in Mt. Carmel. In 1895 they moved to Reading where they established a home and convent. From there, the first group of Sisters to arrive at St. Stanislaus was: Mother M. Magdalen, Superior; Sisters Clara, [illegible], and [illegible]. The basement school consisted of two large rooms where classes numbered in the 60's. By 1906 there were 150 First Holy Communicants. Various Sisters of the Community continued the difficult pioneer work until the death of Rev. Gramlewicz in 1910.

Father Gramlewicz's Contributions

At the request of Poles in Glen Lyon, Rev. Gramlewicz undertook the task of organizing St. Adalbert's, the first Polish parish there, in 1889. Since the members had previously attended St. Stanislaus, Rev. Gramlewicz prevailed upon Bishop O'Hara to name Rev. Zychowicz, his assistant at St. Stanislaus, as its first Pastor. During Plymouth's pastoral troubles, from 1889-1890, Rev. Gramlewicz or his assistant, Rev. A. Zychowicz, assumed responsibility for their spiritual needs. He was also administrator of St. Joseph's Slovak Parish, built in 1888. During 1905 and 1906 he printed a Polish newspaper, "PRZEGLAD." It was the only successor to "THE GAZETA Z NANTICOKE," a Polish newspaper published by Zygmund Twarowski from 1890 to 1893. The Polish press kept the Poles informed about the intellectual, social, economic, and political trends in the United States and Poland. Its timely advice and explanations assisted in the transition into American culture. Rev. Gramlewicz was also instrumental in acquiring the first pump organ for St. Stanislaus. Many parishioners recall pumping the organ for Mr. Kozakiewicz, organist until 1910. They also recall Mr. Kozakiewicz teaching them catechism until the arrival of the Nuns. Many also remember Rev. Gramlewicz's ferocious dogs and his pigeons.

Societies and Organizations

The parish was the hub around which the life of the early Polish settler revolved. While satisfying his spiritual needs, it fostered religious and patriotic societies. Besides the spiritual and social benefits derived, many material advantages were also gained. They also kept alive the religious and cultural traditions of the homeland.

Under the guidance of Rev. Gramlewicz societies and organizations were founded and flourished. Most church societies were of a dual nature, offering both sick and death benefits, as well as upholding the Catholic religion. The earliest was the Order of St. Joseph, established in 1884 and disbanded in 1889. The Fraternal Order of St. Mary's, which included both sexes, was organized in 1892 and disbanded in 1900. This was a Temperance Society and prohibited drinking alcoholic beverages. (For statements of purpose, by-laws and charter members, see Appendix.)

Robinson's Directory of Plymouth and Nanticoke for 1889 lists the following societies: Stanislaus Society - meets at St. Stanislaus, 2nd Sunday after payday. President - Joseph Krauser; Sons of Poland - meets at St. Stanislaus, 1st Sunday after payday. President - Stanley Sakowski; The Guard of Pulaski, #1 - meets at St. Stanislaus the 1st Sunday after payday. Captain - Herman Kempa; Guard of Kosciuszko - meets at Rr. 39 E. Main. Captain - Frank Patrzykowski; Polish Patriotic Society, #100 - meets at Wladislaus Kanjorski's. President - John Sosnowski; and Jagiella Society - meets at James Hall, Market St. President - Thomas Butkiewicz.

The first fraternal organization to appear on the local scene was the Polish Roman Catholic Union organized in 1873. Their 18th national convention was held in Nanticoke in 1891. In 1890 the population of Nanticoke was 10,044, approximately one-fifth of whom were Poles in attendance at St. Stanislaus. This increase in population fostered fraternal and benevolent associations of national scope: 1890 — Polish Union; 1895 — Polish National Alliance; 1899 Ladies Auxiliary, Polish National Alliance; 1905 — Polish Falcons; 1908 — Polish National Union of America; 1910 — Polish Women's Aid Fund. Besides their prime purpose, these organizations had in common the provision of care for newly arrived immigrants. Credit goes to these Poles for establishing Nanticoke's first public library in 1892, which was first located at the home of Thomas Butkiewicz and moved to a hall on Market Street in 1896. Meetings of the various organizations and societies were held in the church basement or in halls until the Polish Falcon's built a hall in 1912. The Poles then had a place for physical fitness drills, dances, amateur theatricals, concerts, etc.

In these social clubs and community centers, Polish songs, rhythmic fork dances, lively music, and stirring dramas were performed and perpetuated. Gems of Polish Literature were read and many episodes from Polish history were related. The meeting place was also an exchange for information. The contribution of the church societies and organizations is one of the brightest chapters in Polish American history.

Customs Brought to America by Polish Immigrants

Few countries are as rich in colorful customs as Poland. The wealth of music, literature, customs, and traditions which the emigres brought with them are an integral part of the history of the parish. Even after 100 years, some are still observed in Polish churches and homes; and, in fact, some have been embraced by other national groups and territorial churches. Many others have disappeared, such as the Paschal Communion cards, the chanting of the "small hours" of Our Lady's Office before the Sunday High Mass, Holy Water fonts in private homes, and "dyngus" — dunking girls with water on Easter Monday. On August 15, the Feast of the Assumption, the blessing of the flowers is still traditional as well as the placement of votive candles in Polish cemeteries on October 31, All Souls' Day. The sight of these candles burning at night was so awe-inspiring that today this custom is widespread.

Christmas Customs

Although Christmas occupies the most honored place, it is Christmas Eve or Wigilia that abounds in adoration and celebration for all Poles. Traditionally, Poles partake of a Wigilia dinner steeped with ceremony and religious tradition. After the first star appears, the dinner begins with the sharing of the "oplatek" the holy wafer, with all present exchanging wishes for prosperity and happiness. This Wigilia feast is a meatless dinner consisting of 5 to 11 dishes; the uneven number insures good health and good luck during the coming year. An extra place setting is laid for the Christ Child or some unexpected guest. Following supper, the Christmas tree is lighted and guests greet the Nativity of the Lord with the singing of the Christmas Carols. The evening of rejoicing and merrymaking is concluded with the family's attendance at Midnight Mass (Pasterka) with its Nativity Procession, its Manger (jaselka), and beautiful Polish carols (Kolendy). The sharing of the oplatek has become an introductory part of Christmas social dinner parties and the oplatek is also enclosed in Christmas greeting cards to distant relatives and friends.

Interestingly, from [illegible] to [illegible], the Midnight Mass was banned in all the parishes in the Scranton Diocese by Bishop O'Reilly. However, voluminous protests by Polish priests and parishioners helped persuade Bishop Hafey in [illegible] to restore this most cherished tradition, and today the Midnight Mass is celebrated in the vast majority of parishes throughout the Diocese.

Customs rarely seen today are the traveling Szopka, or puppet theater, and the costumed men visiting homes on December 26, both depicting stories of the Nativity. At St. Stanislaus the tradition of the Blessing of the Homes on and after the Feast of the Epiphany is still maintained, when the priest also inscribes the initials of the Three Wise Men over the door.

Easter Customs

Easter typifies the theme of the Resurrection, that brings faith and hope anew. Extending from Shrovetide, the Lenten Season and the celebration of Easter have remained largely unchanged. Paczkowi Balls are held prior to Ash Wednesday. Previously, strict traditions were observed during Lent. There was neither singing nor amusements during the six weeks, even singing around the house was forbidden. Children had to sacrifice something they really enjoyed. Along with "Stations of the Cross," some churches still cling to the uniquely Polish and lovely "Bitter Lamentations" (Gorzkie Zale) of the Lenten devotions. Formerly these services took place on Sunday afternoons and Wednesday evenings; at St. Stanislaus they are now held on Wednesday before the evening Mass.

The Easter season lasted two weeks, Holy Week with attendance at church services and preparations for Wielkanoc (Great Night), followed by one week of celebration. After the procession and Mass on Palm Sunday, the palms were taken home and hung behind a holy picture. Little crosses and baskets were designed out of the palms and pinned to one's lapels. On Good Friday everyone visited the three Polish churches to view Christ's Sepulchers. Holy Saturday [illegible] radish, veal, babka, mazurki, and pisanki (artistically designed colored eggs). This custom continues, but the baskets are much smaller today. Easter Sunday began with the Sunrise Resurrection Mass and Procession, followed by the Easter feast. The sharing of a blessed egg was followed by a children's game, cracking the tips of eggs. Wesolego Alleluja!

Other Celebrations - Including Polish Weddings

Besides the customs and traditions connected with religious holidays, even their daily greetings, farewells, and expressions of thanks reflected their deep faith. We often hear a Pole say "Niech Biedzie Pochwalony Jesus Christus" when entering a home; "Zostance Z Bogiem" when leaving, and "Bog Zaplac" when extending thanks.

Since visiting was the sole form of entertainment in the early days, events such as christenings, weddings, and name days were occasions for mirth, feasting, and dancing.

Polish weddings were extremely colorful, with an abundance of food, drink, and music lasting several days. A Polish wedding today is only a modified form of the unique celebrations held in earlier days. The wedding ceremony was usually performed at [illegible] on Saturday or Sunday, and the bridal parties were transported by horse and buggy or they walked to church. Upon returning to the bride's home, her parents greeted the bridal couple with bread and salt, a symbol of hospitality. The guests were met by an engaging fiddler, [illegible] tune. The wedding feast was followed by the capping ceremony in which the bridal wreath was removed and made into a [illegible] in which guests could drop their gifts. When the dancing began, the floors shook with the stamping of the polkas, obereks, and mazureks. A highlight of the reception was the bride's dance. Anyone desiring to dance with the bride first dropped a bill into the maid of honor's apron and then claimed the bride for a brief turn around the floor until tagged by her next partner. Finally, her groom came to her rescue and carried her away!

As time went on, some customs, of necessity, changed and the Poles adopted the American traditions and holidays, such as Halloween, Santa Claus, Thanksgiving turkey, and Fourth of July celebrations.

Civic Involvement and Contributions to the Community

Struggles, disappointments, the most menial of jobs, and the language barrier had kept the Poles isolated as an ethnic groups. By working hard, scrimping, sacrificing from their meager paychecks, they saved enough for a down payment on a home and its monthly payments. Within their fenced gardens they grew vegetables and flowers and raised poultry to supply their tables.

By observing and absorbing, and by attending night school, the Poles started their Americanization. Two of the earliest records of naturalization papers in our collection are John Tutaj's in 1877 and Vincent Norkiewicz's in 1878. Gradually they earned the respect of their employers, fellow workers, and neighbors. [illegible] enterprises, such as stores, hotels, [illegible] blacksmith shops, saloons, [illegible] their influence grew, they won [illegible] leadership in the community.

The first elected Polish official was Frank Miklasz who became a councilman in 1879. Frank Payrzykowski was an elected councilman in 1883, and Anthony Golembiewski and Vincent Kewicz served as councilmen in 1893. In 1894 Thomas Butkiewicz was appointed Postmaster. The first Pole to become Burgess was Frank Stryczinski in 1906. From 1914 to 1917 Frank Madajewski, also a parishioner, served as Burgess. The last burgess before Nanticoke was incorporated as a city was Daniel Sakowski, who also became the first Mayor in 1926. Polish Catholics, no longer a minority group, were an integral part of the community.

The Two Rifts

As parishioners and clergy are but human beings, with both human strengths and frailties inherent in their makeup, there have been occasions of both sorrow and joy when the best and the worst sides of their human nature have surfaced and affected the church's history. St. Stanislaus has withstood two major crises in its long history, the first occuring in 1894. After a bitter dispute with the pastor and the bishop, 2400 parishioners left St. Stanislaus and formed the nucleus of a new Catholic church in Nanticoke, the Holy Trinity, with Rev. Francis Hodur, who was recommended by Rev. Gramlewicz, as its first pastor.

The second rift occurred following the death of Rev. Gramlewicz in 1910, because of a misunderstanding between Diocesan authorities and the parishioners over the appointment of a pastor. The congregation split into two hostile camps. Refusing to accept the appointment of either Rev. S. Szpotanski or Rev. J. Gryczka in 1911, the trustees requested that their present assistant pastor, Rev. Michael Pulit, succeed Rev. Gramlewicz as pastor. They were denied this request. A lengthly dispute and court case ensued, and an interdict was placed on the church from July 1, 1912 to September 1, 1913. When the doors reopened January 1, 1914 after the appointment of Rev. Biczysko, some parishioners who had attended St. Mary's, Holy Trinity, and St. Francis chose to remain there. However, in spite of the factionalism, the harm caused by a few was overshadowed by the loyalty of the overwhelming majority.

Rev. Gramlewicz died on May 31, 1910 and was buried in St. Stanislaus Cemetery, the only priest to have been buried there. Having administered the physical and spiritual growth of this parish for 33 years, he left it in good financial standing with the treasury reflecting a balance of $7,000. His last ledger of 1909 records a membership of 800 male members. (See Appendix) Throughout these trying years, Rev. Gramlewicz toiled among his flock functioning not only as a priest, but also as a builder, a financier, and a judge. It took heroic efforts to face and solve grave issues of those days. His death ended the pioneer era.

Rev. Valentine Biczysko, Second Pastor

Rev. V. Biczysko was born in Poznan, Poland on February 11, 1883. He came to America in May, 1898 at the age of 15 to join his father in Scranton, where they were later joined by the rest of his family. At the time of entry at St. Thomas College, Father Biczysko could not speak one word of English, but by the end of the year, he was at the head of his class. Rev. Biczysko studied theology at Sts. Cyril and Methodius Seminary at Orchard Lake, Michigan and St. Bonaventure Seminary at Allegheny, N.Y. He was ordained in Scranton by Bishop Hoban on July 3, 1908. Rev. Biczysko's first assignment was assistant to Rev. Gramlewicz at St. Stanislaus until his transfer in April 1909 to Dickson City. His first pastorates included Church of the Holy Transfiguration, W. Hazleton and St. Cecelia's, Exeter. On January 1, 1914 Rev. Biczysko became the second pastor of St. Stanislaus; the congregation then numbered 300 families.

Building and Extensive Renovation Program

Under Rev. Biczysko's dynamic leadership, St. Stanislaus grew by leaps and bounds, thereby necessitating the construction of new facilities as well as many innovations in existing church structures. Particularly interested in advancing education, his first project was the erection of a four room brick school building, completed in 1917. The first major steps in renovating the church were taken in 1921-22 in preparation for the 50th anniversary when the church steeple was moved from the rear to the front, and a front vestibule added. Brick siding and a new tile roof were added, and the interior was completely renovated and new pews installed at a total cost of $50,000.

In 1933 a large building was constructed adjoining the convent providing additional classrooms and a large auditorium for school and parish functions. The convent was painted and repaired.

The last extensive improvements took place in preparation for the 75th Anniversary in 1950, when renovations were made in the church, convent, school, and rectory. Donations by individuals and societies included a pulpit, two tabernacles, carpeting, and other sanctuary and church fittings. This vast program was the result of the pastor's untiring efforts and able leadership.

Return of the Bernardines

At the request of Rev. Biczysko, the Bernardine Sisters returned in September, 1914. Sister Bronislawa and three other Sisters undertook the tasks of teaching and caring for the sanctuary and sacristy. In 1920 as the population of Nanticoke increased to 22,614, St. Stanislaus' membership grew correspondingly to 428 families or 1,964 parishioners, resulting in larger school enrollment. Between 1924 and 1929 the enrollment increased so rapidly that six Sisters were engaged in the teaching of 250 pupils in eight grades. When mining hit its peak in 1930, the population was 26,043, and the enrollment increased in 1934 to 305 pupils, the highest in the history of the school.

With the decline of the coal mining industry after the 1940's, the population fell to a low 15,061 in 1960 and 14,641 in 1970. From 1945 to 1954 there were five teaching Sisters employed. Because of economic conditions necessitating the migration of young families to larger industrial cities, the enrollment gradually diminished to 113 pupils taught by four Sisters. Today St. Stanislaus Parochial is consolidated with that of St. Mary's under the name of Blessed John Newmann. The staff consists of Sister M. Hilda, principal and eighth grade teacher, Sister M. Hildegarde, and Sister M. Mercedes, teachers of the sixth and fourth grades respectively, and Sister M. Claudine, convent cook.

Only fleeting memories now remain of the excellent bilingual training and education in both Polish and English offered in grades one through eight at "St. Stan's" under the fine tutelage of the Sisters. However, the tradition of scholastic excellence, discipline, and spiritual faith sewn by them continues to be reflected in the adult lives of their erstwhile students.

Because there were never any Catholic high schools established in Nanticoke, eighth grade students had to attend the Nanticoke High School or go to a Catholic high school in Wilkes-Barre. If they chose the latter, the parish paid their tuition, which ranged from $12.50 per student for five students at St. Mary's in 1951, $20 per student for five students at Marymount in 1953, to $40 per student for eight students at Marymount in 1958 and 1959, and the same for four students in 1960. When Bishop Hoban High School in Wilkes-Barre opened its doors in 1970, that marked the end of Marymount High. Tuitions at Bishop Hoban have increased from $150. in 1974 to $250. in 1975.

St. Stanislaus has been extremely fortunate and grateful to have had a plethora of dedicated, diligent Sisters over the years. Under the capable administration of the following Superiors, the Sisters exuded a positive influence over every aspect of parish life. Their example of spiritual faith, self-sacrifice, and zealous service helped mold the lives of all with whom they came into contact.

Superiors of the convent included:

1903-1914 - Mother M. Magdalen
1914-1916 - Sister M. Bronislawa
1916-1924 -
1924-1930 - Sister M. Bronislawa
1930-1931 - Sister M. Regina
1931-1935 - Sister Mv. Valesia
1935-1941 - Sister M. Ignatia
1941-1947 - Sister M. Olimpia
1947-1952 - Sister M. Sydonia
1952-1954 - Sister M. Gertrude
1954-1959 - Sister M. Caritas
1959-1963 - Sister M. Cortona
1963-1964 - Sister M. Georgine
1964-1970 - Sister M. Callista
1970-1971 - Sister M. Candida
1971-1975 - Sister M. Hilda

Societies

Under Rev. Biczysko's guidance, societies continued to flourish. Through their money-raising projects, they helped to liquidate the debts of the parish.

At the request of Rev. Biczysko, donations for a new organ were made by a number of societies. They were St. Francis, St. Kazmir, St. Valentine, St. Anthony, St. Jadwiga, St. Stanislaus, Scared Heart, and Pulaski Guard. St. Cecelia's Choir, which was reactivated in 1914, (See Appendix), raised $200. through benefit affairs. By 1916 sufficient funds were raised, and the first pipe organ was installed. A modern pipe organ replaced the old one in 1923 for the 50th Anniversary.

Some interesting money-raising projects from 1919 to 1923 for the 50th Anniversary church restoration were: the annual pre-Lenten Suppers, the annual Jaselka in January at the State Theater, benefit moving pictures at the Rex, Passion Plays at the State, an Indian Show, and Theater productions by the school children.

In 1930 there were four societies: the Holy Rosary, Sacred Heart, Holy Name, and Blessed Virgin Mary Sodality. By 1951 the following were added: Ladies' Auxiliary, Women's Catholic Council, Holy Name Athletic Club, Third Order of St. Francis, The Orphanage Unit, and the Defense Unit.

In 1951 the parish, which had 525 families numbering 2,632 persons, was free of debt. This was accomplished through additional affairs such as festivals and bazaars on the school grounds.

Humanitarian and Public Benefactor

Rev. Biczysko was not only a very able administrator, devoting his time and attention to his pastoral work and to the interests of his church and congregation, but he was also prominently active in other directions. Both he and his parish were very active in charitable and patriotic affairs. He gave freely of his experience and labor to all worthwhile civic and benevolent enterprises and similar undertakings. When the flu epidemic swept Nanticoke during World War I, it left many children homeless. This created an immediate need for an orphanage to provide for children of Polish extraction. Father and the parish played a large role in its establishment. Built in Sheatown, St. Stanislaus Orphanage was dedicated by Bishop Hoban in 1918. Under the direction of Rev. A. Zychowicz, its first president, on February 22, 1918, six Bernardine nuns, with Sister Phillippine as instructor, were placed in charge of the 200 orphans.

Rev. Biczysko served as president of the board from 1920-1928 and also two later terms. His parish was the main support of the Polish orphanage for 10 years, contributing $25,000, more than any other Polish parish. Fundraisers, such as the St. Stanislaus Charity Balls, begun in 1920, yearly picnics at Sans Souci Park, were memorable occasions for all. By 1928 enough money was raised to pay off the mortgage with a balance of $46,000 for the Chapel Fund and $20,000 in the Emergency Fund.

No longer an orphanage, St. Stanislaus Institute, since 1940, provided resident treatment for dependent, neglected, or slightly emotional disturbed children between the ages of five and sixteen. For 56 years it has sheltered and cared for 8,000 needy children. This has been a tremendous record of sacrifice and love by priests like Rev. Biczysko, by Sisters, and by parishioners who worked so hard during all those years.

During both World Wars, the parish was foremost in the U.S. Bond Drives and also in Polish Relief activities. Vitally interested in the Catholic League for Religious Assistance to Poland, it had the distinction of being in first place in the entire Diocese in 1958 for its contribution to this cause - over $15,000. It also contributed many thousands of dollars worth of goods to the American Relief for Poland. Father Biczysko's steadfast devotion to the cause of Poland earned him the highest award of Poland and he was decorated with the Order of Polonia Restituta. As chaplain of the Polish Union he also extended aid to Polish immigrants.

As members of the Polish American Congress, Father Biczysko and the parish were active participants. The parish paid two delegates to attend the national conventions. In 1920 Michael Swiderski and Joseph Gruszkiewicz went to Washington; in 1925 Michael Pogodzinski and Frank Pinkosh went to Detroit; in 1944 Mrs. Theodozia Kolenda and Mrs. Lillian Niziolek attended the one at Buffalo.

Father Biczysko had also been a most generous benefactor of St. Cyril and Methodius Seminary. His loyalty and his outstanding gifts to that institution brought most deserved recognition when he was honored with the highest decoration, the Fidelitas medal for fidelity in serving God and country. His generosity and unselfishness had no parallel.

In 1929 Rev. Biczysko took his first vacation. While visiting the Holy Lands, Rome, and Poland for three months, Rev. A. Bocianski, a temporary appointment, substituted while he was away. Revisiting Poland in 1939 while on a three-month tour, he barely escaped through Budapest before the Nazi invasion.

Tributes

Rev. Biczysko's Silver Jubilee in 1933 and his Golden Jubilee in 1958 were celebrated most fittingly with banquets attended by parishioners and guests to pay him homage and tender him the tribute he so richly deserved. The record of his services and good works is far more eloquent than words.

In ill health for several years, Rev. Biczysko collapsed while out walking on April 18, 1961. His sudden death caused great sorrow throughout the parish and community. He was buried in the family plot in Scranton.

Father Biczysko had served the parishioners of St. Stanislaus as pastor for 47 years, longer than any other pastor to date. Historically these years covered three great crises, two World Wars and the Great Depression. Throughout these many years of adversity Father Biczysko remained a bulwark of strength and courage and provided exceptional spiritual leadership. The essence of priestly dignity, Rev. Biczysko was the last of the traditional Polish pastors as he sought to keep alive the spiritual legacy of his forebears.

Rev. Frank Barlik, Administrator

After Rev. Biczysko' death in 1961, Rev. Frank Barlik, who had been assistant to Father since November 1960, was appointed as administrator. Rev. Barlik was born in 1919 in Duryea; after completing studies at St. Charles College, Catonsville and at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, he was ordained in 1946 by Bishop Hafey. Rev. Barlik made some parish improvements and at the request of the Mother Superior at Reading for better living conditions for the Sisters, Father Barlik instituted plans for a convent. The old one was razed, and the ground converted into a parking area. In 1962 the convent and an addition to the school were completed at a cost of $155,000. In September, 1963 Father Barlik was transferred to Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Church, Lake Silkworth, where he died suddenly in 1967, age 48.

During his short tenure at St. Stanislaus, he was a conscientious administrator and a dedicated priest, and the parish regretted his transfer.

Rev. Stanislaus Banas, Third Pastor

Rev. Stanley Banas became the third permanent pastor of St. Stanislaus. Born in Philadelphia in 1914, he completed his studies at Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Orchard Lake, and was ordained in 1939 by Bishop Wm. Hafey. He spent two years as an assistant pastor at Hawley, and then the next four years as assistant to His Excellency, Most Rev. Henry Klonowski, Aux. Bishop of the Diocese and pastor of Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary, Scranton. Fron 1945 to 1948 he was administrator of St. Joseph's, Port Griffith and continued as its pastor until 1957. In October of that year he was assigned as pastor of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Lake Silkworth. On September 25, 1963 Rev. Banas was transferred to St. Stanislaus.

Accomplishments

Within one year, repairs to the church exterior and the rectory interior were made, and half of a $30,000 debt was cleared. By 1969 a new rectory was built at a cost of $154,000. The parish responded to the Diocesan Project Expansion Program by contributing $42,500. The parish and the St. Stanislaus Guild continue to support the new St. Stanislaus Medical Care Center. Rev. Banas urged and received parish support for the Medical Care Center, which was begun in 1970 but prematurely opened in response to the acute need for medical facilities when "Agnes" flood disaster patients had to evacuate hospitals and nursing homes.

During Rev. Banas' pastorate some of the Second Vatican Directives were introduced and carried into effect, namely: the English language replacing the traditional Latin, the Altar facing the congregation, and congregational participation.

Rev. Banas was feted at a Welcome Banquet in 1963, at his 25th Jubilee Banquet in 1964, and his Farewell Banquet in 1974, attesting to the respect and esteem in which the parishioners held him. Within his tenure of 11 years, Rev. Banas proved himself an able administrator and compiled an impressive record of achievements, both materially and spiritually. Because of his friendly, warm personality, he was often invited to participate in many civic and fraternal affairs. In September, 1974, he was appointed pastor of Sts. Peter and Paul, Plains.

Rev. Leonard Novak, Fourth Pastor

Rev. Leonard Novak, the present pastor, is the fourth permanent pastor in 100 years. Born in Duryea in 1931, he studied at St. Mary's College and at Sts. Cyril and Methodious Seminary and was ordained in 1956 by Bishop Jerome Hannan. His appointments as Assistant Pastor included St. Michael's, Old Forge; St. Stanislaus, Hazleton; and Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary, Scranton. He was appointed administrator of All Saints, Dunmore, and in September, 1974, he assumed his first pastorate - at St. Stanislaus.

Accomplishments

Rev. Novak has already made a few more changes to comply with the Second Vatican Council Directives such as the appointment of Lectors, purchase of missalettes, parishioner presentation of gifts for the Eucharist and standing while receiving Communion. Pre-lenten beef dinners have been continued as well as the making and selling of pierogi and chrusciki by the societies. Sundays at 9:00 a.m. Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) religious instruction classes are taught by Assistant Pastor Rev. Richard Kvedrowicz, who is also directing the youth activities. Both Father Novak and Father Kvedrowicz are actively engaged with monthly calendar events during the 100th anniversary year. Also active in the Centennial activities are these organizations: St. Stanislaus Ladies Auxiliary, Women's Catholic Council, Holy Name Society, and Blessed Virgin Mary Sodalities.

Although Rev. Novak has been at St. Stanislaus for only one year, he has accomplished a great deal and endeared himself to the congregation. Soft-spoken and mild-mannered, he is vigorous and progressive, keeping pace with the times.

Assistant Pastors at St. Stanislaus

The following assistant pastors received their training and early priesthood service at St. Stanislaus under its pastors, whose wisdom and experience helped them for the tasks ahead.

Assistants to Rev. Gramlewicz:
1. Rev. Andrew Zychowicz - 1889 - 1890
2. Rev. Stanley Dreier - 1902
3. Rev. Frank Novakowski
4. Rev. Valentine Biczysko - 1908 - April 1909
5. Rev. Michael Pulit - Jan. 1910 - June 1910

Assistants to Rev. Biczysko:
1. Rev. Frank Baranowski - June 1939 - May 1940
2. Rev. Anthony Suchowski - May 1940 - June 1943
3. Rev. Francis Dobrydnio - June 1943 - November 1943
4. Rev. Sintus Wawrzaszek - December 1943 - July 1944
5. Rev. Joseph Rusin - September 1946 - January 1952.
6. Rev. Eugene Terkowski - April 1952 - January 1960
7. Rev. Andrew Krushinski - April 1960 - October 1960
8. Rev. George Stalewicz
9. Rev. Frank Barlik - November 1960 - May 1961

Assistants to Rev. Barlik:
1. Rev. Walter Ferrett - 1961 - 1963

Assistants to Rev. Banas:
1. Rev. Walter Ferrett - 1963 - 1969
2. Rev. Carl Prushinski - 1969 - 1974

Assistant to Rev. Novak:
1. Rev. Richard Kvedrowicz - 1974 -

St. Stanislaus has been blessed in that its priests have discharged their obligations well, both as administrators and as pastors. Each was a different personality taking over where his predecessor left off.

Vocations:

Twenty-five young men and women from St. Stanislaus chose the Priesthood and Sisterhood as their vocations. This is a credit to their parents, their pastors, and their nuns. Of the 12 priests listed, the first six, after years of dedicated and outstanding service to God and country, have gone to their eternal rest. Listed also is the date of each priest's ordination.

It is with joy and gratitude that we present this list of those who have dedicated their lives to the special service of God.

12 Vocations to the Priesthood:

Msgr. Stanislaus Szpotanski - 1897
Rev. John Czaplinski - 1900
Rev. Stanislaus Dreier - 1902
Rev. Klemens Drapiewski - 1912
Rev. Bruno Walter -
Rev. J. Szymanski -
Rev. Vincent Nanorta - 1920
Rev. Raymond Majewski - 1954
Rev. Joseph Horanzy - 1959
Rev. Donaius Shepanski - 1962
Rev. Raymond Wadas - 1972
Rev. Richard Kvedrowicz - 1972

13 Vocations to the Sisterhood:

Holy Family of Nazareth:

Sister M. Boniface - Augusta Chrzan

Felician Order:

Sister M. Clara - Anastasia Gorski
Sister M. Daniel - Bronislawa Chylla

Bernardine Order:

Sister M. Agnes - Mary Jankowski
Sister M. Modesta - Mary Weiss
Sister M. Stanislaus - Gorka
Sister M. Bruno - Josephine Kishel
Sister M. Athanasia - Hedwig Kishel
Sister M. Ernestine - Mary Ciepiela
Sister M. Amabilis - Martha Witoszczak
Sister M. Claudette - Mary Niziolek
Sister M. Infanta - Sophie Dobies
Sister M. Krescencsa - Victoria Scwarc

Besides the vocations of the Priesthood and the Sisterhood, many of St. Stanislaus' sons and daughters have gone on to make their mark in the professions of Medicine, Dentistry, Nursing, Teaching, Law, Engineering, and Social Services. Others have embarked in business and in political careers. In contrast to the biased past, their language, religion, and customs are no longer a barrier to prestige, status, or wealth.

Choir

St. Cecelia's choir, from its inception during Rev. Gramlewicz's tenure, has maintained a high reputation among choral groups. Among the earliest organists were the late Mr. George Knoll and Mr. Kozakiewicz. The late Mr. Anthony Czyzk was organist and choirmaster from 1914 to 1957, a period of 43 years. He was succeeded by Mrs. Bertha Rule, the late Mr. John Uczen, who also organized the Gregorian Choir, and by Mrs. Jean Lubinski, present organist.

Deep appreciation and gratitude is extended to the choir members (with their lovely voices) for their volunteer hours spent at rehearsals and services.

Sextons

Many human hearts and human hands are needed to support a church. Of those many parishioners who have contributed, special mention and thanks must be paid to the sextons of St. Stanislaus, who have attended to all the maintenance duties of the church (cleaning, tending furnaces, gardening, etc.) as well as ringing the bells, caring for the cemetery, and a myriad of other responsibilities.

Early records indicate that Mr. Kozakiewicz, the church organist, also assumed the duties of a sexton. Two sextons with the longest records of service are Edward Bedecki, with a record of 30 years, between 1931 and 1960, and Frank Olszewski with 15 years, 7 of which were from 1903 to 1910- under Rev. Gramlewicz. Other sextons were: Michael Kanarkiewicz, Stefan and Leon Mayewski, Valentine Gorzelanczyk, Kazmir Sosinski, Stanley Horanzy, Wladislaw Stefanowski, Zygmund Kaszewski, John Odziemkowski, Kazmir Urban, Andrew Krzyrzniewski, Anthony Biezdiecki, Joseph Majewski, John and Ambrose Vida, Richold Ludorf, and Martin and Leonard Bukofski.

Ushers

Also to be recognized for their dedication to St. Stanislaus are the ushers who have volunteered their time throughout the years. Familiar faces like Jacob Waiter and Ciezkia are now gone, but singular honors must be bestowed upon Leon Krygier and John Rybski for their 50 years of continuous service. Even as a boy of 13 Leon occasionally ushered at 4:00 p.m. Vespers during Rev. Gramlewicz's tenure. Edward Kosciolek, Edward Bogdan, and Bolish Norczyk have approximately 30 years apiece. These additional Holy Name members, having been appointed and scheduled by Rev. Banas, have given consecutive years of service as ushers ever since: Anthony Mathews, Edward Novak, Carl Obaza, and Andrew Runewicz.

Statistics

During these 100 years there have been 10,204 Baptisms, 2,657 Marriages, and 2,529 Deaths.

Conclusion

One hundred years after its founding, the Polish language is still heard in the church as well as in everyday conversation, and Polish traditions are staunchly upheld. To this day Nanticoke and its oldest Polish parish remain a recognizable Polish settlement. Just as American Catholicism has changed in the past 15 years, the American Poles have become more Americanized, but at the same time, have retained important elements of their culture. As stated by the late eminent sociologist, Florian Znaniecki, "They want to become active participants in the two cultures, which are both theirs, and to fully appreciate both."

This Centennial Jubilee of the Parish encompasses the history of the Poles of Nanticoke - its birth, infancy, adolescence, and its adulthood - and its whole history of toil and victory in preserving the faith and culture of its forefathers. After a century of progress and expansion, both spiritually and materially, St. Stanislaus stands as a living testimonial of the labor of love to the service of God given by all its builders, both living and dead. St. Stanislaus has an enviable record through their services and achievements. With God's grace, new challenges shall be met as courageously in the future, for Poles have a heritage which is conducive to outstanding accomplishments.

APPENDIX

St. Nicholas Ledger - 1872 - 1873 - 1874

St. Stanislaus Ledger

*Records of baptisms, marriages, donors, and members available from Wilkes College Polish Room Committee. (The Committee has made copies available to the King's College Library.)

Early Polish immigrants living in Nanticoke traveled to Wilkes-Barre to St. Nicholas not only to attend services in German, but for marriages and baptisms.

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

Tow. Bractwo Sw. Jozefa

Fraternal Organization of St. Joseph

Organized in Alden March 29, 1884 for the purpose of upholding the Catholic religion.

Rules: Flowers and candles be placed on St. Joseph Altar
$5 weekly sick benefit after 6 month's membership
$1 assessment of each when a member's wife dies
$1 assessment if one doesn't attend a member's funeral
A Mass be offered for a deceased member and
50¢ assessment if one does not attend it
50¢ assessment if one does not go to monthly Confession and Holy Communion

Fraternal Order of St. Mary

Organized Jan. 10, 1892 with 14 members.

This was a Temperance Society. Rules prohibited drinking alcoholic beverages.

St. Cecelia's Choir - January 21, 1914

Initial membership fee was $1.00; dues - 10¢ monthly. Any money collected had a two-fold purpose: (1) To purchase music sheets, etc. (2) The other half - help liquidate the debts of the church.

BIOGRAPHIES

*For other early biographies see Harvey Smith, *A History of Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley*, 1922-1930 VI

Wadzinski - Lewandowski

Wojciech (George) Wadzinski was born in 1857 in that part of Poland which was under German occupation. He arrived in the U.S. in 1880 just five years after St. Stanislaus Church was organized.

Eva Lewandowski was born in Wies Rypin, Gubernia Poska in 1888 and married Wojciech Wadzinski in "St. Stan's" Church in 1890. They became the parents of seven children and in 1907 Wojciech, a Pa. R.R. employee, was killed while at work.

Three of his children entered public life. John, the oldest, was honored by his hometown with two offices, auditor and school director, serving four years in the former and twelve years in the latter. His son is at present the Mayor of Nanticoke.

Frank was Nanticoke Borough Clerk and later City Clerk. He subsequently became an attache in the Office of the Register of Wills of Luz. Co.

Teofil, a doctor of law, and an attorney by profession, has been a public school teacher, county commissioner - appointed by the court-chairman of the Board of Kis-Lyn Industrial School, Chairman of the Legal Aid Society, school, municipal, and draft board solicitor, general counsel for the Polish Union and bank president. In 1958 the Luzerne County Bar Association endorsed him for Judge. He is married to Helen Kitlowski, a former high school teacher, whose family has always belonged to St. Stan's.

Their son, Dr. Henry T. Wadzinski, after receiving his doctorate in physics, worked for two years at the University of Paris, in France, and since 1971, has been working at Harvard University. Their daughter, Dr. Lenore T. Wadzinski, received her doctorate in physiology and is with the Cardio-Vascular Research Centre of the University of California.

A son Roman is deceased.
Vincent resides in Buffalo.
Leo, a retired electrician, resides on W. Noble St.
The only daughter Veronica Fabian resides on W. Main St.

Kitlowski

Anthony Kitlowski married Antonina Szankowski. They lived in Ludzback, Poland. They became the parents of 5 children:

1. Cecelia, botn in 1869, married Joseph Twardowski (Smith) 1889
2. Felix (history follows)
3. Apolonia, born in 1873, married Clem Knoll
4. Pauline, born in 1875, unmarried
5. Sophie, born in 1877, married Frank Hausmeninger

Felix

To avoid being conscripted into the German Army, Felix, age 18, fled to the U.S., leaving behind his mother and four sisters: later he provided for their arrival in Nanticoke.

For two years he worked in a sausage factory in Phila. Then he got to Nanticoke where he had a meat market on Market Street until his death in 1919. Active in civic affairs, he was director of the First Natl. Bank of Nanticoke and President of the De Reszke.

He married Telesfora Michalowski, born in Waverly, N.Y., in St. Stan's Church, Nanticoke. They had 6 children, the youngest of whom, a girl, died in infancy.

1. Cecelia, a graduate of N.H.S. and Bucknell, taught Latin and English in the N.H.S. She married Dr. Thad. A. Starzynski of Pittsburgh.
   Their son Dr. Thad. E., after graduating from the School of Medicine in Pittsburgh, served in the U.S. Navy until his retirement as Commander. He is a certified surgeon and a certified plastic and reconstructive surgeon. Until his recent illness, he was on the staff of the Sloan Rettering Memorial Cancer Center and the N.Y. Hospital. His wife, Margaret M. Crawford, was killed in an auto accident.

2. Dr. Edward A., graduated from John Hopkins Medical School, taught in the U. of Md. He and Dr. John Stage Davis were pioneers in plastic & reconstructive surgery in Baltimore. He died in 1970, leaving a wife and a son, Dr. John K., also a plastic surgeon in Baltimore.

3. Dr. Henry, finished medicine in the U. of Pittsburgh. He was an otolaryngologist, studied his specialty one year in Vienna. He was on the staff of St. Francis Gen. Hosp., Pittsburgh. He died in 1960, leaving his wife Mildred and 5 children, all of whom attended universities. Two of them took up medicine. Dr. Claudia Berenson is a psychologist in Salt Lake City, where she lives with her husband Dr. Malcolm Berenson and 3 children. Dr. Noel K. is a pediatrician, lives in Denver with his wife & twin sons.

4. Helen, after graduating from Bucknell, taught biology in the N.H.S. She married Atty. T.G. Wadzinski. Their son Henry attended Harvard; after receiving his Ph.D. in physics, worked at the U. of Paris, and since 1971 had been working at Harvard. Married, has one son, lives in Arlington, Mass. Advisor in U.S. Air Space Prog. Their daughter Lenore received her Ph.D. in physiology at U. of Cal. after finishing at Mt. Holyoke U., Mass. Taught 1 year at U. of Fresno and is with the Cardio-Vascular Research Center, U. of C.

5. Eleanor, Bucknell graduate, taught Ancient History & Modern History at N.H.S. Married Chester Strojny - taught automotive mechanics,

Szpotanski

Martin, born in Poznan married Michalena Krazuczki. Came to U.S. in 1869, lived in Blossburg first, then came to Nanticoke in 1882. They were parents of 5 children.

1. Kazmiera, born in Poznan in 1867, was 2 yrs. old upon arrival in U.S. Married Anthony Drapiewski, undertaker, and had 14 children, all college graduates. (See Drapiewski)

2. Very Rev. Msgr. Stanley - born 1876. He graduated from St. Vincent's Latrobe, and was ordained in 1897. His pastorates included Morris Run, St. Joseph's, Hudson, and St. Mary's, Dickson City. In 1943 at age 67 he died.

3. Maximilian - graduated from Phila. College of Pharmacy; owner of his

pharmacy; belonged to DeReszke. Married Blanche Bobin.

4. Martha. Married Julge Frank Piekarski. Their daughter Mary married Judge Blair Gunther, Superior Court. Their children - Blair, Frank, John, Annapolis (All college grads).

5. Anthony - pharmacist, married Victoria Schwartz. They had two sons. Anthony and John.

Nowicki - Nejfelt - Rokosz

Felix Nowicki

Had a grocery business - 618 S. Walnut Street

Married Pelagia (Pearl) Nejfelt in 1891
She was born in Sztabin, Poland - Dec. 20, 1874
She arrived in the U.S. in 1890.
They had four children:

1. Stanley - organist
2. Clem - hardware store; grocer; School director. Sts. Cyril & Meth. seminary, Orchard Lake; U. of Mich. Married Charlotte Makowski
   Their children:

3. Mary - married Stanley Warakomski - Gen. Sec. Polish Union.
   Their children:
   a. Valeria - U. of P.
      Married Anthony Aponick - Annapolis graduate
      Children - Barbara, R.N., and Anthony - Yale
   b. Dr. Alphonse - Bucknell and Jefferson
   c. Dr. Chester -

4. Rev. John

Felix Nowicki died in 1901. In 1906 she married Frank Rokosz.

Frank Rokosz - grocer; DeReszke; organized Falcons - 2 of his favorite remarks: "Kapusta, nie kapusta, Sokoli march." and "Obecne ale nieprzytomny" (present but absent).

Their children:

1. Sophie - teacher (French) - Hershey H.S.
2. Atty. Leon - Married Laura Talli - one son Frank

Frank died in 1926. His widow Pearl retired from the grocery business in 1944. - 52 years from 1892. She died May 21, 1974 having lived almost 100 years.

Glowacki

John, born in 1867 in Poland, a son of Louis Glowacki. At age 20, in 1887, he emigrated to Nanticoke. He was employed in Patrzykowski's butcher shop. Five years later he opened his own butcher shop on Arch

Street. Three years later he moved to 8 W. Ridge Street. Member of P.N.A., Polish Union.

Director in Susq. Lumber Company
Director in Nanticoke National Bank, one of the organizers Czarnecki

1891 he married Sophia Berfus, Nanticoke.
Their children:

Lillian married Gaylor 1913

Louis - Valparaiso U., Ind. - pharmacist - Hudson 1 yr.; 18 mo. in Navy
Married Margeria Grontkowski

Daughter Zosia - Wilkes; director of Children's Theater; married Eugene Maylock - guidance counselor, Keystone - children: Susan, Eugene, Louis.

Mary - N.H.S. - U. of Penna.
N.H.S. teacher of Latin, French - Dean of Women, Alliance C. (Tadzia)

John, remarried, Theodosia, his first wife's sister; one son - Millard.
John died 1946 at age 78.

Millard - Coal - Real est. graduate of Lehigh U. - Married Michaline

UKRAINIANS IN LUZERNE COUNTY

by

Joseph V. Krawczeniuk, Ph.D.

The first Ukrainian immigrants in the U.S. in general and Northeastern Pennsylvania in particular came from the part of Ukraine, called "Lemkivshchyna", in the early seventies of the XIX. century. All Western Ukraine belonged at that time to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as a result of the first partition of Poland in 1772. Even though immediately after the incorporation in Austro-Hungary, the Ukrainians set great hopes on the evolution of their national movement and began to feel what it meant to have human rights and to be on equal terms with other races, the first fruits of that "Constitutional Era" turned out to be disappointing. The other Slavic nations which also constituted the Austro-Hungarian Empire were luckier in this regard; they possesed their aristocracy, wealthy nobility, and a middle class, in a word, all those factors which enabled them to take active part in the government and, thus, enjoys a better life. Ukrainians, however, had lost their leading classes in the course of a centuries-long foreign domination. What remained was peasants and a handful of cultural persons. For this reason, they had no influence in the administration of the country, in the Parliament, in school matters, etc. They found themselves, again, almost in the state of serfdom, even though serfdom was officially abolished in 1848.

The main reasons for why the Ukrainians were leaving their homeland to which they were so closely attached, were:

1. economic. Economic conditions in Austro-Hungary during the nineteenth century were very bad. Lack of industrials forced the peasants to remain on their small farms which were subject to very high taxes. Rapid increase in population led to land division among the grown-up children and to subdivision in the next generation, for the peasant had no money to give his children a technical education. As a matter of fact, only a few vocational schools existed, and those were located widely apart, from which the farmer's children were mostly excluded(1). In addition, a considerable percentage of land in each county remained idle, or partially cultivated, or under forest, and belonged to foreign landed aristocrats. All these circumstances led to an extreme impoverishment of the real owners of the land, the Ukrainians.

2. political oppression. Any attempts at Ukrainian national movement were suppressed. This resulted in the fact that the national consciousness of many Ukrainians was very low; they hardly knew what nationality they belonged to and what their nation's history and culture were.

3. social oppression. Ukrainians were denied linguistic, religious, and educational freedom.

Whom could they turned to for help in such a desperate situation? Forsaken by God Himself, as the saying went, ignored by the Austrian government, deprived of their leadership, ruthlessly exploited, they lived under the most deplorable conditions. It was at this point that - in the last quarter of the nineteenth century - a movement began in the Western Ukrainian counties (Galicia, Sub-Carpathia, Bukovyna), calling for the emigration to foreign countries, such as Brazil, Argentina, U.S., and Canada. This movement was initiated by what constitutes the fourth factor leading to the massive emigration of the Ukrainians, the FOREIGN AGENTS. While the emigration to Brazil and Argentina came to an end soon, the agents from America kept appearing more and more frequently in the Ukrainian villages and spreading fantastic news of the far away country, the country of dollars, wealth and security. It goes without saying that they were making large sums of money encouraging the villagers to emigrate and by lending them to money to cover the costs of transportation. Whatever the case may be, everything the agents had to say about America sounded unreal -

to good to be true. The future Ukrainian emigrants were deeply impressed by the reports of high wages and steady employment, as well as by the possibility of acquiring free homestead land. Also, the news about American freedom, religious toleration, educational opportunity, social equality, noncompulsory military service found a most receptive audience in the Ukrainian villagers. No wpnder, then, that many young people - upon listening to those phantastic news - began to rejoice and even to compose their own songs to the effect that they would not have to live in old huts and work for their landlords anymore, but that they would be living like barons in America. Not only was it the young who were enthusiastic about the possibility of emigrating to the "Promised Land." Also the grown-ups, right after their marriage, were deciding to leave their modest homes, to go to America, to earn some money there to be able to repay their debts, and either to stay in the new homeland, or to return - much richer, of course - to their native land.

ARRIVAL IN THE U.S.

Having listened to so many promises from the American agents, the Ukrainian villager thought he knew that the emigration to the U.S. will certainly solve all problems of his existence. And so, in a short period of time, he found himself far away from the place in which he was born and spent his youth, far away from the mountains which he loved, and, most importantly in many cases, far away from his beloved ones. The poor immigrant did not realize at first what challenges were awaiting him on American soil. He was not aware of his many handicaps, especially his illiteracy and the lack of any technical training. All he brought with him was himself as a physical body which, he thought, would suffice to enable him to earn the coveted dollars and to lead a happy life.

The first experiences of the Ukrainian immigrant were not rosy at all. Incapable of saying one single word in English, attired in the old country way, he became an object of curiosity and ridicule on the part of American people. When, after the nerve-racking days on Ellis Island, he was on his way to the anthracite region, the local people refused to give him shelter. He was forced to sleep outdoors, most frequently under the bridges. But, finally, he made it, exhausted though he was. The time of the arrival of the first Ukrainians was marked by American worker's prolonged struggle for the minimal rights and the shorter working days. The strikes became a very frequent phenomenon, unsuccessful though they were, because the working people weren't organized properly. The "strike-breaking" business began to flourish, and with it arose a very sad situation for the Ukrainian newcomer. Innocent, not understanding the conditions, ot probably because of necessity, he went to work as a strike breaker, thus bringing upon himself the hatred of old miners, mostly Irishmen. No wonder, that in some cases the Ukrainian laborers were killed, or, at least, became victims of "accidental" injury. Here is what Peter Roberts writes about the first experiences made by the Ukrainian, as well as other Slavic immigrants in the coal mines in Pennsylvania" "Think of the opposition and Social ostracism which greeted them when first they came to those coal fields. They were abused in the press and on the platform, maltreated in the works and pelted on the streets, cuffed by jealous workmen and clubbed by greedy constables, exhorbitantly fined by justices of the peace and unjustly imprisoned by petty officials, cheated of their wages and denied the right of civilized men, driven to caves for shelter and housed in rickety shanties not fit to shelter cattle..."(2). Very often, the Ukrainian immigrant, now a coal miner, was a victim of a close "cooperation" between the employment agencies and the boses in the mines. He would be working in the mines for a period of time sufficient to earn enough money to pay the employment agency. Then, he would be fired, rehired, fired again, and so on. All in all, a large percentage of his earnings was spent with the employment agency which, on its part, shared this "income" with coal mines owners, foremen, etc. According to Peter Roberts, the miner would sometimes "pay him $1.57 instead of $1.75" and there were "instances where foremen were parties to the fraud"(3). Helpless, defenseless, beaten up, the Ukrainian coal miner had no one to turn to for help or advice; he had to take the many abuses that were showered upon him. Despair, often drowned in alcohol, was his first experience in the anthracite region. The great hopes for a brighter future were unfulfilled. The Ukrainian pioneer was completely lost in a country unknown to him, he longed for his native land, his native mountains, and his family. Some Ukrainians were returning home despite the fact that they knew that no better life was in store for them there. Others stayed hoping that the thing will, after all, change for the better. From the break of the dawn to late in the evening, they continued to toil in the bowels of the earth, ever in danger of serious injury, or even death itself from whirling machinery or constant cave-ins. How different from the work on the farms they had been accustomed to! But despite many hardships, disappointments, abuses, through sheer persistence they gradually forged ahead!

MINING COMMUNITY

Life in the mining community was very dull. Everything, including the daily work, the rickety shanties, as well as the company houses, and the mining village itself bespoke monotony. The only variety was that of the immigrant elements and the language of the immigrant miners consisting of their native tongue plus the newly acquired words learned from miners of other nationalities, and always a few inserted English words with foreign endings(4). Long hours of hard and dangerous work underground and the short time spent outdoors in the coal-dust-covered environment had a very depressing effect on the miner. Much harder, however, was the lot of the miner's wife. When she came to America, she was young, healthy, and not infrequently good looking. After several years of residence in the mining village, her health depleted, and she was, in many cases, beyong recognition. Hers were many assignments, and her work had no end. She cared not only for her husband and from three to ten children, but often for roomers and boarders also. From six to twelve of these crowded all the available space in the dwelling. She never had a minute of rest; her work included washing, cleaning, and cooking for ten to twelve people. Twice a month, the miner's wife had to contend with the anxieties incident to payday - days of drunkenness, singing, arguments, and occasional fighting(5).

The years were passing by. More and more did the Ukrainian immigrants get accustomed to the new environment and to the working conditions which they had no power to change. Work-loving as they were, they soon managed to satisfy their economic needs and provide for their families, either here or in the old country. However, it soon became apparent to them that their social and spiritual needs were neglected. Deprived of the privilege of education, always forced to work for others, Ukrainian immigrant knew nothing about organizations, cultutal meetings, social life etc. The only organization he was well acquainted with was the church. All Ukrainian immigrants were members of the Greek-Catholic Church which recognizes the pope as its religious head, but enjoys the old religious rights, services in Old Slavonic, and married clergy. But in this country there were no Greek-Catholic churches yet, therefore, they would often gather together, read the Gospel, the Epistle, and sing their "High Mass" or the hymns which they remembered from the old country. Later on, they attended the already existing Polish and Slovak churches. Unfortunately, they were looked upon with distrust and dislike by their Slavic brethren. This situation greatly depressed them, and they began to think about the organization of their own places of worship.

In a letter to Lviv Metropolitan, Cardinal Sylvester Sembratovych, they wrote: "Your Excellency, we have come here on our own, illiterate as we are. However, we are no more what we used to be in "the old country"; for this we are missing something. We miss God whom we would be able to understand, whom we could worship in our own language... Please, give us from the old country priests, give us your blessing for the construction of churches so that in the foreign country we may have all that sanctifies our Ukraine"(6). As a result, Cardinal Sembratovych had sent to America Rev. John Volanskyj, the first Ukrainian Catholic priest to have worked among the Ukrainian immigrants in Northeastern Pennsylvania.

REV. JOHN VOLANSKYJ

"Our priest has arrived from the old country!" were the words heard in the Ukrainian community in Shenandoah, Pa., where the first priest-missionary took his first residence. Learned, talented and energetic, Father Volanskyj did not waste his time; immediately upon his arrival in Shenandoah he started to establish the cooperative stores, brotherhoods and, of course, began to prepare plans for churches in the individual communities in this area. The first activities of the priest-pioneer were marked by many troubles, misunderstandings, jealousy, etc. Rev. Volanskyj spoke no English, he was looked upon with suspicion, but the main reason for why his arrival caused a great sensation in Shenandoah was the fact that he was a married priest and came to this area with his wife. Unfamiliar with the Ukrainian religious customs, the Roman Catholic bishops did all they could to get rid of Father Volanskyj. The priests of the Philadelphia diocese were ordered to read in their churches the letter by which their bishop was excommunicating him. The bishops of other dioceses did the same. The Latin clergy, especially that of Slavic origin could have been very helpful here, since they were well acquainted with the Greek-Catholic Church. They could have informed the American bishops and American Public on it. But they didn't! Instead, they misinformed the American church officials on the real status of the Ukrainian church. Father Kalinowski, for example, upon learning that the Ukrainians were attempting to organize their own church, one Sunday morning 1884 denounced them from the pulpit and ordered his people to pray that the attempted project might fail(7). Others called down curses on Father Volanskyj and other Ukrainian priests, and encouraged their faithful to laugh at them on the streets, to spit at them, etc., etc. To bury an Ukrainian Catholic in the Roman Catholic cemetery was understood as a desecration. It took a dedicated and patriotically minded priest to endure all the hardships and insults on them part of his fellow Christians. Rev. Volanskyj was such a priest; he continued to work among the Ukrainian immigrants under the worst circumstances possible, until finally he was ordered by the Holy See to return to the old country.

The first church to have been founded by Father Volanskyj was that in Shenandoah (1885). This was followed by the churches in Kingston (1887), Olyphant (1888), Mt. Carmel and McAdoo (1891), Hazleton (1892), Alden Station (1895), and others.

Father Volanskyj's departure to Europe in 1889 was a great blow to the Ukrainian communities in the anthracite region. To them he was a kind of national pastor; his advice, counsel and services were sought not only by the local communities, but also by the Ukrainian settlers in the distant cities of Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis. He was the man who played a decisive role in the early and difficult stage of organized life among the Ukrainian immigrants. He edited the first newspaper ("America"), organized the first dramatic club, cooperative stores, and was responsible for the creation of the "BROTHERHOODS", the first being the St. Nicholas

Brotherhood in Shenandoah, Pa. (1885). Even though the brotherhoods served in many cases as a nucleus of the future Ukrainian parishes, their main objective was to maintain a fund from which the sick from among their membership could be supported and the dead buried. They were also supposed to established schools wherein the children of the members and of other persons could be educated according to the tenets of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. Speaking of Wyoming Valley, such brotherhood existed in: Kingston (St. Nicholas Society, 1888), Plymouth (St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Society, 1889), Hazleton (St. Volodymyr Beneficial Society, 1889), St. Volodymr Roman Greek Catholic Society, Alden, Pa., 1892, St. Spasa United Greek Catholic Society of Rhone, Pa., 1898, and so on. In 1892, all brotherhoods existing in Northeastern Pennsylvania formed the so-called "Union of Greek Catholic Ruthenian Brotherhoods" in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Unfortunately, misunderstandings, especially a number of excesses in the management of the Union's funds, led to a division in that organization. Moreover, the local bishops continued to meddle in Ukrainian church affairs causing much unnecessary trouble. Because of that interference, two able priest, Rev. Ivan Ardan and Dr. Alexis Toth left the Catholic church. The former became a journalist, while the latter joined the Russian Orthodox Church and became the most potent factor for many years in proselyting the Ukrainian and establishing Russian Orthodox churches for them(8).

The division in the "Union of Greek Catholic Ruthenian Brotherhoods" led to the establishment in 1894 of the

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

At a time of division, hopelessness and despair, the UNA became a vital force in the life of the Ukrainian community. From the very beginning, it found a wholehearted support and sympathies of Ukrainian workers, and all Ukrainian pioneer life centered around it and its publication "Svoboda". An uphill struggle began engulfing all segments of life of the Ukrainian settlers, ranging from the individual and his family to the community and its relationship to the adopted country, on the one hand, and the Ukrainian people in the native homeland, on the other. Illiteracy being one of the sorest points among the Ukrainian settlers, the UNA placed the greatest emphasis on education, enlightenment, and arousing of national consiousness(9). This was a hard struggle, a struggle for the soul and the mind of the Ukrainian immigrant. High on the list of priorities of the first UNA constitution and by-laws was the provision that each branch be obliged to maintain a reading club. Each member received the Ukrainian newspaper "Svoboda" as the first step in an educational program which later on included books, pamphlets, courses, schools, and last but not least the pulpit and the Church itself. The very first appeal of the UNA to the Ukrainian immigrants stressed the need for "taking out the first papers" and becoming citizens of this country so as to improve their lot. The UNA brotherhoods were encouraged to function as a kind of "Ukrainian labor unions" and care for the workers. Thus social movement and cultivation of social consciousness were as high on the list of UNA objectives as the preservation of national consciousness. The press, pulpit, rallies,and meetings - those were the means serving the awakening among the downtrodden and oppressed immigrants the feeling of human dignity. This was the only way to transfrom this dark mass of people into a nationally and socially conscious community. In this respect, the struggle against alcoholism and licentiousness was of paramount importance(10). All these attempts at raising the cultural level of the Ukrainian immigrants encountered much opposition also, especially on the part of those nationally unconscious people who fell prey to the Czarist Russian or Magyarophile propaganda and, for minutest benefits or promises respectively, wittingly or unwittingly, prefered to consider themselves as "Russians" or Hungarians. Even though this opposition did not prevent the UNA from continuing its enlightening and educational work, some Ukrainian immigrants, nevertheless, left its ranks, abandoned their church, and joined organizations or churches dominated by the Russophile or Magyarophile elements. This is, then, the reason for why in almost each Wyoming Valley community there are three churches standing next to each other. The faithful of all these churches came from the same areas (in Austro-Hungary before 1918), they all spoke the same language, they all were, so to speak, children of the same mother, and yet they all "needed" separate churches. The division in the ranks of the Ukrainian immigrants was in many cases promoted by some too independent priests who made use of every opportunity to deepen the mistrust among their faithful and to promote themselves to more prosperous parishes without the fear of ecclesiastical punishment. In addition, the Czarist government and the Holy Synod of Russia were quick in extending their "helping hand" to the Ukrainian immigrants and encouraged them to leave the Catholic Church and to join the Russian Orthodox Church. The Russian government itself let it be known that the Holy Governing Synod of Russia spent approximately $80,000 a year on what was known as "the Russian mission in America"(11). Aside from the external difficulties, the leaders of the Ukrainian National Association had to face some internal problems, too. The latter ones began when the first Ukrainian bishop, Rev. Soter Ortynskyj (since 1907) demanded that the organization be subordinated to him, the Catholic bishop, and only persons of Greek Catholic faith serve as delegates to the UNA conventions. Thus a bitter struggle began between Church and secular elements over supremacy in the life of the Ukrainian American community and, as a result, a "New Association" was formed in 1910, now known as the "Ukrainian Workingmen's Association" in Scranton, Pa. In 1911, another association came into being in Philadelphia, now known as "The Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America." Some members were leaving the ranks of the UNA, others remained with it while simultaneously joining one of the two new associations. In the course of time, the things stabilized and some minor hostilities were forgotten. At the present time, all three of them are continuing to grow and cooperate with each other in the spirit of true friendship and brotherhood.

The Ukrainians from Luzerne County (as well as other neighboring counties) constituted a large percentage of the UNA members. This is why the Twelfth Convention of the UNA was held at J. Coughlin High School in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. in September 1912. This particular convention of the UNA proved to be of a very great importance for the future of the Ukrainian immigrants in this country in general, and in Wyoming Valley in particular. It established an EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE and vested in it all powers needed to conduct wide-ranging educational activities in the Ukrainian American community. The promotion of the so-called "Prosvita" - societies (prosvita = enlightenment), publication of small educational books each month, of illustrated newspaper for youth, publication of popular books, and organizing lectures - those were but a few objectives of the newly appointed Educational Committee. The dissemination of printed matter called for the establishment of educational READING ROOMS and CLUBS, which served not only for the enlightenment of the members, but also provided them with worthwhile amusement and diversion. They served as centers for youth and cultural activities and helped much in cultivating among the Ukrainian immigrants the spirit of brotherhood, fraternalism, mutual cooperation and assistance, as well as moral and material support. Each member was required to contribute 5 cents monthly to a relief fund established for those members who might be in need of material assistance.

Another objective of the UNA Educational Committee was the establishment of a political organization of the Ukrainian American community, of citizenship clubs where members would receive instruction from competent persons on how to become American citizens. Furthermore, it would be earier through such political organizations to establish contacts with political organizations in the old country, to inform the American press about the history of the Ukrainian people, their culture, their struggle, and their aspirations, etc. Economic affairs were also included in the list of the UNA Educational Committee. This committee compiled quite an impressive record in reaching the goals set forth at the Convention in Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

When in 1910 the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association was founded in Scranton, Pa., it, too, succeeded in gaining the support of many Ukrainian immigrants in Northeastern Pennsylvania. Some of them joined the "new Association" after leaving the ranks of the UNA, others joined it while simultaneously continuing their membership with the latter. To underscore its strength in this area, the Ukr. Work. Assn. held its Fifth Convention in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. in 1922. Even though not as closely connected with the Church as was the UNA, the UWA has always maintained its Ukrainian position and, therefore, contributed considerably to raising the national consiousness and educational niveau of the Ukrainian immigrants. Main office of the UWA being located in Scranton, it goes without saying, that its influence among the Ukrainians in the anthracite region was very strong and, as the future developments showed, in many cases beneficial.

COMMUNITY LIFE

In the early days, church was the real center around which all the life of the Ukrainian community revolved. Here, the first organizations came into being, predominantly the charitable ones. Their main objective was to assist one another in acts of benevolence and charity, to promote religion and morality, to educate their members in the observance of the laws of the commonwealth, and to foster in them the duties of citizenship. According to the charters, each such organization maintained certain funds "to derfay the expenses of burial of deceased members and to render pecuniary assistance to the members in case of sickness and in case of death to their relatives and survivors".

The very important security precautions being more and less taken care of, the time has come for the pioneers to turn their attention to their children. Some of them had little understanding for the value of education for their children; they couldn't wait for their children to reach the age of 16 to be able to take up a job and help support the family (before the age of 16, the youth had to attend public schools). Fortunately, however, there were among the Ukrainian immigrants many who in addition to the public educational institutions - understood the great value of their own.

UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS.

With the assistance of the Ukr. Nat. Ass'n and its newspaper "Svoboda", the reading rooms and schools came into being in Shamokin, Mt. Carmel, Shenandoah, Olyphant, and others. Wilkes-Barre had no Ukrainian school, nor a Ukrainian church yet. It was not until 1909 that the St. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was built (635 North River Street) and with it also a Ukrainian school was organized.(12) The main objective of these schools was to foster among their pupils the love for the Ukrainian culture, to teach the Ukrainian language, literature, history, etc. The instruction took place in the evenings on weekdays (2 hrs.), sometimes on Saturday. The beginnings were very hard, since there was a great shortage of well qualified teachers. The sextons had to serve as instructors and, with few exceptions, they themselves needed schooling. This is why some of them taught their pupils only what they happened to know best. Subject to no control or inspection, they each taught according to their own "method", frequently with no method at all. Whatever their qualifications, the sexton-teachers played a very important role in the education of the children of the Ukrainian immigrants in Northeastern Pennsylvania. Among them, we find some very conscientious people who succeeded in gaining high respect both among their pupils and their parents.

Another problem for both the pastors and the sexton-teachers was finding suitable textbooks (such as primers, literary collections, etc.). At first, anything available was used as a "textbook". Very often, this textbooks presented the culture of Ukraine in a very disfigured, sometimes false light. Later on, the supply of books from the old country or some larger centers of Ukrainian immigration in America helped solve this problem and brought more uniformity and objectivity into the teaching at all church affiliated Ukrainian schools.

As for the school facilities, they were deplorable at first. With a very few exceptions, the instruction was conducted in dark, moist cellars under the churches, or in a very small, uncomfortable private homes. No wonder, then, that the children were quite often not too enthusiastic about attending this type of schools. But.... the parents' words were what counted, and the youngsters continued to attend them.

How did the Ukrainian community at large react to these schools? As long as the instruction was free, the parents were happy and quiet. The moment, however, they were asked to contribute a few cents for the maintenance and upgrading of the school, they began to have second thoughts about continuing to send their children there. In general, Catholic spirit prevailed in all Ukrainian schools, especially ever since the coming to the U.S. of the first Ukrainian bishop, Rev. Soter Ortynskyj in 1907. This was not to the liking of some outside "friends" who did their best to agitate the members of the Ukrainian community thus inducing them to undermine, if not to destroy, what was built through the great efforts of the hard-working predecessors. When, in 1938, Rev. John Kutsky started preparations to erect the parochial school building in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., many agitated parishioners refused to pay the contribution of $25 assigned to them by the pastor. As a result of this development, some 100 families fell away from the parish. Despite all this opposition, the school building in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. became a reality and was ready for classes in September 1939. The Sisters Servants of Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculate were taken in as teachers. But due to the scarcity of funds, the building was not properly equipped, and so only a few children attended. Even though the school-building was improved considerably in the following years, the parishioners refused to send their children there knowing there were only two sisters-teachers, and those lacked proper qualifications. Thus, the school at the corner North River & Chestnut Sts. was closed in August 1952. The situation in other adjoining communities was not much better; lack of qualified teachers, lack of support on the part of the community brought about the end of all Ukrainian parochial schools in Wyoming Valley. The only attempt at bringing about a renaissance of Ukrainian schools here was made by Rev. Nicholas Fisanick in Hanover Section of Nanticoke. For a few years, a "summer school" was conducted there in the 50's; the Sisters of St. Basil the Great, as well as the Sisters Servants of Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculate offered instruction in Ukrainian language, religion, singing, folk arts, etc. Unfortunately, this noble endeavor had to be discontinued. All that the churches are offering these days in terms of instruction are the so-called "religious instructions" conducted on Saturdays and Sundays in the morning.

CHOIRS AND BANDS

The church affiliated schools included in their curriculum not only the instruction in religion, Ukrainian language, literature, and history, but also singing. This led to the formation of choirs in each Ukrainian community in Wyoming Valley. Even though the Ukrainians are generally known as good singers, the organization of the singing groups was another hard task of the sexton-teachers. Selection of voices, lack of discipline on the part of the singers, sometimes poor attendance at rehearsals - all these factors required very patient and persevering conductors. Fortunately, there were such people; dedicated to the cultivation of the beautiful Ukrainian choral and instrumental music, they were willing to offer their spare time and eventually succeeded in creating large and good choirs. The primary function of the choirs was to sing the responses during the High Mass. Apart from that, they gradually began to include in their repertory the national songs and the songs by various Ukrainian composers, which enabled them to organize concerts and participate in cultural affairs sponsored by the church, brotherhoods, etc. Together with a choir, each community had at least one band, and in Wilkes-Barre, there was at one time a "mandoline orchestra" conducted by Mr. Smerechynskyj and, after his departure to New York, by sisters Mary and Catherine Kapiy.

THEATER

From the choirs and bands evolved the theatrical groups. Just like the former, they consisted of the volunteers and were led by the sexton-teachers. In the church hall, they performed some easy plays by Ukrainian playwrights, predominantly comedies dealing with the problems which the immigrants had to face in their everyday life. Sometimes, comical situations arose even before a comedy was put on stage. This happened when the actors began to argue about who should be playing a certain role. On one such occasion, the children had to play the roles of the adults, and the performance is said to have been very "successful". The theatrical performances were very popular among the Ukrainian immigrants, and the proceeds were given to the church or used for the support of orphans and other worthy causes. Among the promoters of theatrical art in the Valley were: Mr. & Mrs. W. Seniuk; Mr. & Mrs. P. Lawnyj; Mrs. Malko; sisters Kapiy, Mrs. Steven Lawryk, Mr. Berezansky, and others.

Of great importance for the cultural and social life of the Ukrainian immigrants in Wilkes-Barre and throughout Luzerne County was the establishment in 1920 of the

UKRAINIAN COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

Started by a group of people - shareholders and well supported by the entire Ukrainian community, it soon developed into a real center of that community, and was referred to as the "Ukrainian Nest." Since, in addition to the store, it also had a spacious hall, many cultural and social activities, previously conducted in the church hall, were transferred here. One of its first activities was the establishment in 1922 of what was known as "Taras Szewczenko Library Association of Wilkes-Barre" with the purpose "of the maintenance of a club for the social enjoyment by establishing and maintaining club rooms in which to conduct a library, reading rooms, billiards and pool rooms, innocent, harmless games and pass time, and for the social improvement of its members"(13). How proud the Ukrainian community was of the accomplishments of both the Cooperative Ass'n and the Library Ass'n can be illustrated by the words of Mr. Julian Kondratovych during the "Thanksgiving Dinner" on Nov. 26, 1936: "This library induced us to establish the present Cooperative. We met and read, we thought and decided to work. Today, we have a building, hall, stage, and even bigger a library."

A shot in the arm for these two organizations came at the moment when they were joined in their cultural and social activities by a group of enthusiastic workers, members of Branch 249 of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Ass'n. Completely dedicated to the cause of promotion and spreading of the Ukrainian culture, this group initiated many unforgettable events which contributed much to making the Ukrainian cultural values better known to the American public. A true dynamo in all these endeavours was the late Mr. Volodymyr Krajkivskyj (Vladimir Kray).

The first chance for these people to show the fruits of their orgainizational work came during the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration of Wyoming Massacre, July 2-4, 1928. More than 160 Ukrainian men, women, and children took part in the festivities and were considered "to have been the largest division in the parade".(14) At head of the Ukrainian group were 8 riders in Kozak costumes, directed by Vol. Krajkivskyj. They were followed a "float of the Ukrainian United Association of Wyoming Valley with Maria Demian representing peaceful Ukraine, Maria Fediw and Maria Kuzminska in attendance, and Peter Lawny with guitar, under the tree representing a traditional "Kobzar" in a peasant village."(15) Behind the float marched an orchestra of 50 people in uniforms, and the Ukrainian United Chorus consisting of 160 members from Wilkes-Barre, Edwardsville, Glen Lyon, Hanover, and Nanticoke, and singing the Ukrainian folk songs. No less colorful in the Ukrainian division was the so-called "women's hundred" with 153 participants, and other 1300 Ukrainians clad in ribbons. The appearance of the Ukrainians at the Sesqui-Centennial celebration was a revelation to the onlookers. They didn't know or vaguely heard of the existence of Ukrainians in this country. But through their performance, the Ukrainians gained admiration and respect of the many thousands watching the parade.

Encouraged by the great success of their performance during the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration, The Ukrainians formed the

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL LEAGUE OF LUZERNE COUNTY

to strengthen the Ukrainian organizations, to teach their people how to become good American citizens and to take more interest in time of elections, to organize the Boy and Girl Scouts, baseball clubs, theatrical groups, etc. Under the leadership of Mr. V. Krajkivskyj (first president), the "League" dominated the cultural and social activities of the Ukrainian community in Luzerne County for the period of time between 1929-1940. First of all, it promoted the organization of the Ukrainian Citizen's Clubs to help the aliens become American citizens "to develop the idealistic thoughts of being true American patriots, to rear the members in the spirit of a civilized America, and to broaden the conception of American politics." In 1935, there were 8 Ukr. Cit. Clubs in Luzerne County with a membership of 430. This number was constantly increasing ever since the resolution was passed by the American Legion at its convention in Wilkes-Barre concerning the limitation of the rights of non-citizens and their deportation. To better coordinate the work of the individual clubs, the Ukrainian United Citizen's Clubs of Wyoming Valley was formed in 1935. Its activities included: annual banquets, card parties, lectures, picnics, and political rallies to which local commissioners, Court House officials, and candidates for various political offices were invited. This resulted in the creation of the Ukrainian Division of the Democratic Party.

Owing to the efforts of the"League", the Ukrainian Women's Club was started in 1932. All Ukrainian women and girls over 16 years of age could become members of the club which held its meetings on the first Tuesday of each month. Members were women from Wilkes-Barre, Kingston, Edwardsville and Nanticoke; they organized card parties the proceeds from which were used to purchases the food-baskets for the needy Ukrainian families.

Very much attention was paid by the Ukrainian National League of Luzerne County to the youth. In August 1936, the Ukrainian Youth Club was organized. A chartered club and a member of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America, it sponsored various cultural events, such as concerts, dances, card parties, etc., as well as maintained a basketball club which played in the City League. Since similar youth club existed in the neighboring counties, it was decided to form the Ukrainian Inter-County Youth League (1938).

Through the efforts of the Ukrainian National League of Luzerne County and the Ukrainian Youth Club, the Ukrainian School of Folk and Ballet Dances (also referred to as Ukrainian Dancers Ass'n of Wyoming Valley) came into being in 1936. Under the directorship of Mr. V. Krajkivskyj and with Mr. Ivan Zablotzkyj as its conductor the newly established school found a great enthusiasm among the young Ukrainians, and as a result, each community in Luzerne County maintained its own dancing school. After a certain period of training, each dancing group started to perform Ukrainian folk dances in its respective community. At some bigger events, they would unite and perform as one group. The popularity of the Ukrainian School of Folk and Ballet Dances was steadily growing and, therefore, its members were always busy preparing for the next performance. There was hardly any cultural event in Luzerne County to which they would not be invited. The list of their appearances is very long, and it would take to much space to enumerate them. Here are just some of them:

1. Anthracite Regional Folk Festival, at Irem Temple on May 25, 1936.
2. Luzerne County Festival of Nations, at Kingston Armory on June 25, 1936.
3. Pennsylvania Folk Festival, at Memorial Stadium of Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa., July 30 - Aug. 2, 1936.
4. Ukrainian Evening, at Coughlin High School, on October 15, 1936.
5. Second Anthracite Regional Folk Festival, at Irem Temple on May 12, 1937 (this was one of the four festivals held under the supervision of George Korson)
6. Festival of Nations, at Wilkes-Barre Business College on Dec. 16, 1937.

The dancers also appeared at the Historical Society's garden party at Glen Summit, and on various other occasions at Rocky Glen, Kingston High School, Nanticoke High School, and at Penn Theater where they were part of an amateur competitive program sponsored by Penn Theater. The Ukrainians and the "Spoon players" were tied for the first place. However, the latter were awared the first place.

No lesser than the accomplishments of the "Ukrainian School of Folk and Ballet Dances" were those of the mixed choir "Bandura" under the directorship of Mr. Stefan Lupinetskyj of Dickson City. In most cases, this unit participated in the events mentioned before and enjoyed just as great a popularity as did the dancers. Here is what Wesley E. Woodruff wrote of their performance at Coughlin High School in March 1938: "They received hearty praise and applause from a considerable gathering and did themselves credit, and bespoke also a regular succession of performances for occasions. The chorus was well drilled, had some likely voices, and they made a point of precision. They appeared well also on stage, a company of over seventy. Those who know declared that there has not been any exhibition here of costuming and rich emboidering superior to this showing. Some of the costumes are originals brought from the other side. Others were made here from original patterns and the embroidery was also done on this side."[16]

A very important event contributing to uniting the Ukrainians in the anthracite region was the so-called "Ukrainian Day" sponsored by the Ukrainian National League of Luzerne County and the Ukrainian Youth Clubs. After the huge success of the first "Day" on June 29, 1930, the "Ukrainian Day" became a steady feature and was held almost annually. It turned out to be a huge gathering of all Ukrainians from Luzerne and the neighboring counties. They were coming to Sans Souci Park to meet friends, to make new friendships, and above all to enjoy choral singing, dancing, calisthenics, baseball games, all performed by the Ukrainian clubs from the individual communities in Luzerne County. Attended by 6 to 10 thousands, these Ukrainian Days had a great influence on raising the national consciousness of the immigrants and their children and encouraged them to continue or to start various cultural and social activites in their respective communities.

Almost simultaneously with the aforementioned "Ukrainian Days", the local Ukrainian churches started their "Ukrainian Days." Held at Rocky Glen, Fernbrook Park, or Lakewood Park, they, too, attracted thousands of Ukrainians from this area and featured singing, dancing, games, beauty pageants, etc. The proceeds from these church-sponsored events were used for the St. Basil's Orphanage in Philadelphia and Ukrainian Theological Seminary in Stanford, Conn.

Worth mentioning are also the activities of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League and those of the Youth of the Ukrainian National Association. The former was established during the World's Fair in Chicago in 1933 and maintained its branches all over the country. Locally, it emerged as an active body in the late 30's and - from Sept. 1949 - was known as the North Anthracite Council of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League of North America (in Hazleton area as South Anthracite Council of the UCYL of NA).

The Youth of the Ukrainian National Association was an organization founded by the late Mr. Gregory Herman in 1947. (Mr. Herman was a long-time Vice-President and Gen. Secretary of the UNA, and also a teacher at J. Coughlin High School in W-B.). Its activities comprised social gatherings (dinners, dances), as well as folk dancing and Ukrainian language classes. Any monies raised were used to help the refugee orphans, to support the work of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee in Philadelphia, to buy CARE-packages for the displaced persons in Europe, etc. The Youth of the UNA were also responsible for the donations of books on Ukraine to the Osterhout Library in Wilkes-Barre. On February 21, 1940, they founded the male chorus "Kobzar", consisting of 25 members from McAdoo, Nanticoke, Hanover, and Wilkes-Barre. (Mr. Eugene Melnychuk was conductor).

SPORTS

The sports activities among the young Ukrainians in Luzerne and other counties were sponsored predominantly by the Ukrainian National Association. In 1934, a basketball team was formed; it was a member of the City League and competed against the Ukrainian teams from Scranton, St. Clair, Nanticoke, and Breslau. Very successful was the UNA Baseball team. In 1938, they won all of their UNA League games (Pennsylvania champions) and the right to play the champions from New York Metropolitan area. They took two games from the Manhattan boys to win the Eastern championship. In 1939, they won 9 out of 10 games in their division, suffering the only loss at the hands of St. Clair's branch 31. They took two out of two games from Newark to win the Eastern championship for the 2nd time. For this accomplishment, the team was honored at the dinner-dance at Sterling Hotel on Nov. 22, 1939. In attendance were all prominent Ukrainian leaders from this and other areas, and Mayor Charles N. Loveland addressed the victors.

The Ukrainian National Association was also the sponsor of the Wilkes-Barre UNA Girls's Bowling League.

Looking back at the many activities of the Ukrainian communities in Luzerne County, especially in the 30's and 40's, one may wonder what ever happened to them in the following decades. The answer to this question may be found in the fact that the anthracite region became a "depressed area." Coal industry rapidly declined, no new industry has been developed, and no jobs were available. And precisely that was what the youngsters of the 30's and 40's needed. Reluctantly, they had to leave the places where they were born and raised and go and seek better job opportunities elsewhere. At the present time, the states of New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut team with people from this area and are benefitting from their many talents and skills. Are there any Ukrainian activities in other areas outside of Luzerne County? Definitely! Those other areas experienced no exodus of their people. On the contrary, they became sites where a new wave of Ukrainian immigrants settled after the World War II. Those new immigrants, mostly educated people, joined the already existing Ukrainian organizations, established new ones and, together with American-born Ukrainians, continue to promote Ukrainian culture in this country. The number of new immigrants in Luzerne County can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The deep gap left behind by the exodus of young population remained unfilled. Thus, not much is going on in the Ukrainian communities here these days. The only occasion which remains one of the bygone days is the annual Bazaar sponsored by the Holy Transfiguration Ukr. Cath. Church in Hanover, Pa. on Labor Day weekend. It seems to be the only place where the former residents hold their reunion of the good old days.

The time factor may also be responsible for the decline of the organized Ukrainian life in this area. It could continue as long as the first generation of Ukrainian, born in Ukraine, was part of the organizations. After all, they brought with them the elements of Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian customs, usages etc. But even they, having found themselves in a novel situation in this country, began to acquire the elements of American culture. They had to adjust from ways of rural peasant village to life in a highly in a highly industrialized modern American city. They had to "pick up" through their occupational contacts, at least a working vocabulary of English which brought about some changes in their language practices. His food practices changed, too. He could not obtain here the foods he used in the old country, or he may not have wanted to; in a short while, they assimilated the American food practices while reserving the typical Ukrainian food practices for festive occasions. Also, the homes, furniture, utensils, clothing, and the like of the first immigrants became very different from those they had in their homeland. All in all, the Ukrainian background of the immigrants could not escape the elemental social process - change. As a result, the immigrants became as individuals very different from what they used to be at the time of landing in America. Hand in hand with these developments, the organizations established and supported by the immigrants were no more typically "Ukrainian"; they had to suit the conditions here and were "Ukrainian-American" organizations, even though the Ukrainian spirit prevailed in them at first. All these changes were intensified and accelerated when the second, American-born generation began to replace the parents in the organizations. Having never seen Ukraine, having been exposed to the Ukrainian way of life at homes only, the young people could not help but bring the elements of American culture into them. Above all, the American way of life, aiming at personal success, induced the second generation Ukrainians to revise their attitude to the Ukrainian traditions. They began to realize that the energy and the time consumed by them in numerous Ukrainian activities meant that so much less was consumed in purely American activities. Are we to conclude that the younger generation of Ukrainians has dissociated itself from everything Ukrainian? No way! What it did is that it started to place more emphasis on primary contacts arising out of the individual personal relationships in continuous face-to-face association.

After the brief discussion of a great variety of Ukrainian activities in Luzerne County in the past, let us now turn for awhile to the other aspects of life in the Ukrainian communities, such as occupation, holidays, celebratiions, family life, etc.

OCCUPATION

As already mentioned above, the first Ukrainian immigrants in this area were unskilled laborers and worked predominantly in the Coal Mines. Very few of them had any business experience from the other side. Seeing the opportunity for improving their existence materially, some newcomers began to leave the mines and established their own enterprises, such as rooming and boarding houses. Modest as this "business" was, it brought them more money than working in the coal mines. After a while, saloon business became quite popular among the Ukrainian settlers. Monotonous life in the mining community sent many an Ukrainian to the saloon where he could meet his friends and talk with them about the joys and worries of his everyday life. As a matter of fact, saloons were at one time the social centers of the immigrant life, their owners became the most prosperous group among their countrymen and gained much power in determining some matters related to the life of Ukrainian community. Other businesses attracting the attention of Ukrainian immigrants were: groceries (individual and cooperative), meat markets, restaurants, beer distributing, flower shops, and funeral homes.

The more Ukrainians entered the world of business, the more of them were able to provide their children with a formal education. More and more Ukrainians appeared on the professional arena in the fields of jurisprudence, medicine, dentistry, music, and teaching (both college and high schools).

Of great importance for the Ukrainian community were the lawyers; they instructed their fellow-Ukrainians on their rights and also took care of all legal matters pertaining to the establishment of new stores, churches, and various organizations. They supported each Ukrainian activity in this area and frequently appeared as speakers at Ukrainian meetings, rallies, and on various other occasions.

HOLIDAYS

The Ukrainian-Americans celebrate several religious as well as native national holidays during the year. Before the early 60's, the former were celebrated according to the Julian calendar (two weeks later than American holidays). Then, a movement began advocating the switch to the Gregorian calendar. It was especially Christmas that induced the chruch leaders to introduce this change and to satisfy the wishes of younger Ukraininas to celebrate this particular holiday together with their non-Ukrainian friends. Except for the St. Peter and Paul Church in Plymouth, all other Ukrainian churches in the anthracite region adopted the Gregorian calendar. This change, however, has not influenced the way in which the Ukrainians celebrate their religious holidays, especially Christmas and Easter. Wherever possible, they seek to adapt some of the finer and more colorful of the old world habits and customs to their American environment. For example, on Christmas Eve they gather around the table for the "Holy Supper" , consisting of the various specially-prepared courses that ancient Ukrainian customs prescribed and their pocketbooks allow. "They sing the equally ancient and heart-warming "Kolyady." Faces glow with happiness and cheer."(17) The older ones, born on the other side recall the Christman Eve scenes in Ukraine. "They recall how outside their sturdy peasant hut, the moon shone, while the stars twinkled merrily in the blue dome of the sky; a soft, breathless stillness pervaded village and field broken only by the distant singing of the approaching carolers, winding their way from home to home and announcing their arrival underneath the window with the joyous tinkling of a bell. What a glorious night that was!"(18) They did their best to communicate those beautiful Ukrainian Christmas traditions to their children. Not in vain! These traditions live on at the present time. Very rich are the Ukrainian Easter traditions, and a great amount of folk-rituals have been preserved to date. The Holy Week begins with allusions to the time when deity was in trees, pussy willows on Palm Sunday being a compromise with the Christain doctrine. The men, never women, light the fires on Holy Thursday to show the way for the returning souls of the departed kin (some Ukrainian churches don't follow this custom any more). On Good Friday, when the Sepulchre and the Shroud are displayed in the church, it is a custom among the Ukrainians that each male member of the parish, including sometimes children of 10-15 yrs.of age, keep guard at the Sepulchre (usually two at a time). Before long, the guardians were the members of the organization called "Seech", and they were always clad in Ukrainian Kozak costume (black boots, wide red breeches, embroidered shirt) and kept guard by day and night until the Resurrection Services on Easter Sunday, when the Sepulchre is dismantled. Hardly anyone misses these beautiful Resurrection Services and the blessing of the food-baskets which follows them. The latter takes place on the church grounds where the food-baskets are placed in the form of circle. In them, on an embroidered cloth, one finds smoked sausage and ham, cheese, horse-radish, and colored eggs carrying the theme of rebirth, new life. The ancient cult of the sun finds its expression in Easter "paska" baked in the form of sun. Corresponding to the "Holy Supper" on Christmas Eve is the traditional Easter breakfast. Just as the wafer is distributed among the members of the family on Christman Eve, so, too, the head of the family shares the egg with his wife and children. After the breakfast follows the joyous time. On the church grounds, or on some private grounds, the young and old (frequently dresses in Ukrainian national costume) gather together to carry out songs and dances associated with the Easter. These songs and dances are called "hahilky" or "vesnyanky", and they all have one thing in common; joy upon the return of spring, of the sun, and of new life Even though no one today really believes that the songs and dances help nature to restore life, many do feel the need to express their joy and optimism with the return of spring. In antiquity, these "Hahilky" and "vesnyanky" were performed in the forests or in the meadows near the water for these were considered sacred places. In the tenth century, with the introduction of Christianity in Ukraine these archaic dances were blended with Christian rituals and their performances became part of the Easter tradition. The songs glorify the maiden Spring in her fullest splendor, address the heralds of spring: the larks and swallows, the wild ducks and geese, others deal with wishes for a rich and abundant harvest, or combine motifs and images in a descriptive medley about the beauties of the fresh green forest.(19) Unfortunately, this beautiful tradition seems to be dying out lately which is due to the fact that the young people have no sufficient knowledge of Ukrainian language.

As for the national holidays, the Ukrainians celebrate "Lystopadove svyato," commemorating the establishment of the Western Ukrainian Republic on Nov. 1, 1918; 22nd of January, commemorating the anniversary of the independence of Ukraine (1919); "Shevchenko Day", which is a birthday celebration of the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, "who next to Christ is dearest to Ukrainian millions".(20) More seldom, Ivan Franko (second noted poet) and other noted writers are kept in memory.

All national holidays are not necessarily celebrated on a given date; for the program honoring special historical events or illustrious Ukrainians any Sunday is chosen in the month when the event to be commemorated occurred. The observance consists of a special Sunday service and a mass meeting in the afternoon which last for 1½ - 2 hrs. and includes a main address, recitation of appropriate poems, and music, vocal and instrumental. In the past, all these observances were annual features in Luzerne County; lately, they are held occasionally. Holidays, both religious and national, are good evidence of the family solidarity among the Ukrainians. They are a good means to bring older and younger generations together. Even if the youngest, third generation understands no or very little Ukrainian, its members attends all Ukrainian affairs, just to be together with their parents.

Another very important occasion celebrated by the Ukrainians is "Mother's Day." In addition to honoring the mothers in a close family circle, the Ukrainians often hold a special program which includes a brief address, recitation of poems dedicated to mothers, solos, etc.

CONCLUSION

Having experienced persecutions, exploitation, and many other abuses in the old country (the first generation), and having heard or read about them (second and third generations), the Ukrainians know very well what this free country means to them. This is why they are very loyal Americans, good churchgoers, morally strong people with no police record at all. To gain a good picture of the Ukrainians, their relationship to America and to Ukraine, let me quote an Ukrainian-American youth, who in a address delivered at a meeting of the Conference on Immigration Policy held at the Town Hall, N.Y.C. in 1935, said:

"We know we cannot have rights and privileges here in America without duties and responsibilities. We know that America gives us protection, education and opportunities, and that we owe in return our love, obedience, service, and loyalty. We know, too, that our principal task here in America is not the making of money but the building of America. And yet, we cannot forget that we are Americans - of Ukrainian descent. We can't know how for centuries our Ukrainian forefathers fought and sacrificed their lives and fortunes in the cause of an ideal dear to all nations - Freedom. From our minds the inspiring thought that there was once a Ukrainian state, self-chartered and self-ruled, can never be effaced, and the burning hope that there again will be one can never be extinguished. Knowing all this, and remembering that one of the greatest Americans, Woodrow Wilson, himself declared that each nation is entitled to self-rule and self-determination, we, the American youth of Ukrainian descent, shall strive to make ourselves worthy and useful citizens of our America and at the same time also strive to do our bit towards the realization of that centuries-old dream - the creation of free and independent state of Ukraine."(21)

APPENDIX I

OCCUPATION. (On p. 24, after line 7)

To the category of professionals who came from the Ukrainian ranks, we may also add the actors, especially, those who made it to Hollywood and are well known all over the country. They are:

1. Jack PALANCE (Walter Palahniuk). He was born in Lattimer Mines, Pa. on Feb. 18, 1920, son of John & Anna (Gramiak Palahniuk. He studied at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill), won a football scholarship there, but left to become a prize fighter (a "reluctant" one). Having served with the Air Corps during the World War II, Jack entered Stamford University to study radio acting. In 1947, he is in New York, where he was signed as Marlon Brando's understudy in "Streetcar named desire." On Braodway, he spent 4 years, after which he left for Hollywood. Jack Palance made his screen debut in Elia Kazan's "Panic in the streets" in 1950. In 1951, he appeared in "Darkness at noon." Ever since then, he appeared in numerous other motion pictures and TV shows. It goes without saying, that his acting career has been a success to which the awards bestowed upon him may testify. Jack Palance was named the most prominent newcomer (Theatre World); best screen newcomer (Look Magazine), named best supporting actor (Academy Motion pictures Arts & Sciences); recipient of best actor award (Academy of TV Arts & Sciences), Sylvania Award for "Requiem for a Heavyweight", and others.
   Despite his great acting career, Jack Palance has remained in touch with the people in his native area, as well as with the Ukrainian community at large. Once in awhile, he appears in Ukrainian cultural and social affairs.

2. Nick ADAMS (Adamchak), 1932-1968.
   A janitor's son, he came from Hanover, Pa. Having hitchhiked to Hollywood in 1950, Nick hustled his way into Television and movie acting. In the early 60's, he reached the zenith of his acting career as the star of a TV-series called "The Rebel." In the 70's, his career began to wane, unfortunately, until it ended abruptly on Feb. 7, 1968, when he was found dead at his home in Los Angeles. He died of an overdose of paraldehyde, a drug used to treat nervous disorders.

APPENDIX II

CONCLUSION (p. 27, at the very end)

And, finally, one more quotation. In his address to the American Ukrainians in Washington, D.C. on May 24, 1940, James J. Davis, Senator from Pennsylvania said:

"American way of life...is a mixture of the best that many national groups have brought with them and planted on the soil of this nation. You may be justly proud of the fact that the Ukraininas have done their part. The Ukrainian people are a distinct asset to this nation. Their tradition has always been the essence of vitality. From this spirit has flowed a quickening of life for the entire nation."

"Successive generations of Ukrainian folk have added their contribution to a better life for the many in this free land of mine, mill, field, forest and factory, but never have you turned your backs on the ideals of Jefferson and Lincoln which we early came to love - even before we landed on these shores."

Speaking of the need of fredom for Ukraine, Davis said: "Yours is a noble purpose. It is a purpose for which none of you should feel ashamed. Neither is it un-American. America has always stood for fair dealing and freedom for all people. That was the breath which gave life to this nation. It is now the blood that has kept this nation healthy and full of life..." "Your appeals for a free Ukraine do not take away from you the fact that you are loyal Americans. You have seen the happiness that is possible in a land where freedom and not oppression rules. It is only natural that you contrast this with your experiences in the homeland, and realize how shameful the plight of your countrymen is. It is only natural that you desire for them some of the good things that are yours today."

(From: "Our American page", English section of the Ukrainian newspaper "Narodna Volya" (People's Freedom), Scranton, Pa., May 31, 1940.)

FOOTNOTES

1. Wasyl Halich. Ukrainians in the United States. Chicago, The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1937. pp. 13-14.
2. Peter Roberts. Anthracite coal communities. New York, Arno Press, 1970, p. 37.
3. Peter Roberts. op. cit. p. 39.
4. Wasyl Halich. op. cit. p. 32.
5. ibid. p. 33
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The Ukrainian Juvenile Magazine, publ. also by "Svoboda" in Jersey City from Dec. 1927 till July 1933 (rare!)
Junior America; official monthly for the junior members of the Providence Ass'n. Publ'd from Apr. 1930 till April 1931. Phila., Pa. (rare)
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Way over 50 years ago, our Lemkos (1)began to leave Lemkivshchyna(2) for America. What a great event it was, when first Lemko, Michael Durkot from the village of Hanchiv was being seen away. A whole procession had shown up. Not only his father, mother, wife, and children, but also the whole community came to bid his farewell. While soing so, everyone was shedding tears so that a stranger, who did not know what was going on, could think that someone was being taken to the gallows or to some other form of execution. Since he was respected by the whole community, he was now seen away with pomp.

This is how he was leaving his native soil, his native village, his home. He was leaving his father, mother, wife, and children and went on a journey to seek in the far-away world a piece of bread and a better lot. On a horse-drawn cart, he arrived at the nearest town, boarded a train there, and was going by train for three days and three nights, passing towns, villages, forests and mountains, until, finally, he reached the German port of Bremen.

He was leaving with longing in his heart and with hidden tears for his family, and reflected upon what kind of lot was awaiting him in the new world. He arrived at the old "Castle Garden"(3) in New York. From here, he went to Shenandoah, Pennsylvania. He couldn't even remember who the people were with whom he had found his first shelter. All he knew was that he was given a job in the mines, that is, in the coal mines. His only dream was to stay here for a year or two, earn some money, and soon return home from this strange country where, it was said, the sausages are found on the hedges.

But his was to be a different lot. And so, Durkot never saw his native home again.

Another old-time Lemko was Zolak from the village of Vysava. He, too, worked in the mines. There, he was covered by dirt and coal, together with his two friends, and remained under the ground for 18 days. How those people lived there, I cannot describe nor communicate. Everyone has to imagine that for himself. The coal company ordered a rescue and had everyone work day and night to save the three miners. And this was a success. After 18 days, they were dug out. But, for 18 more days, they had to remain underground, under the doctor's supervision, until they were taken back into the open. Once out, two of them died immediately. But our Zolak was alive.

From the stories by other Lemkos, I know that among the first who arrived here, were: Tawday from Shpytnytsia, Demyanchyk from Vysova, Krynytskyj from Ustia Ruske, Madzelan from Florynka, Klisch from Brunary, Talpash from Labova, Chylak from Biltserova, Kopystyanskyj from Kudynets, and furthermore G. Vilchatskyj, Shtekla, Glova; the names of others, I have forgotten.

Some of them went to Shenandoah, others to Shamokin, still others as far as Pittsburgh. There were among them such who were sent by the agents to the farms. From reliable sources, I know that the town of Shenandoah was the first settlement of our immigrants. The next such settlement was in Shamokin.

Were those hard times for the first Lemko immigrants! Wherever we'd show up, we were referred to as "Hungarians" or Hunkies". The heads of quite a few of us were dripping with blood, because the older foreign immigrants or their children poked fun at us at first. But in the course of time, we "wrestled for" or "worked out" our freedom.

The first immigrants usually worked on "breakers", where they cleaned the coal. There, they picked up the rocks ("slate") from the coal. The younger ones received $3.75 a week each, the older ones $5.00 each, but from this salary, 21¢ was deducted weekly. This was when Cleveland was the president. In those days, the working-day lasted 10 hours. In the morning, we used to get up at 5 o'clock, then walked along the railroad tracks to arrive at our working place at 7 o'clock. There were no "streetcars", no automobiles, nor buses yet. We were not wearing collars, neck-ties, not paletots yet, but a simple working shirt worth 25¢. We didn't go to any picnics, balls, or films; we didn't frequent hotels, restaurants, or saloons. Firstly, we couldn't afford to spend a "nickel", secondly, if we had appeared in a saloon, we would have been beaten up.

To be sure, life in those days was cheaper than now. For a suit, we paid $5.00 - 6.00 for shoes $1.00, for a hat 50¢. For a bushel of potatoes, we paid 50¢, but a pound of coffee was 25¢, a bag of flour 25¢ - which means that food prices didn't differ much from these at the present time. I am not mentioning meat, because regardless of how long a month was, we did not long for meat. Bread and black coffee - that was our food. At that time, I was at the "Shandy Hill" near Shamokin, so I never saw a grocery, butcher shop, nor did I know what a "pork chop" was all about. Once a month, the grocer would deliver to us a bag of flour, a pound of coffee, 2 pounds of sugar, and 2 pounds of cheese for pyrohy. In those days, people slept like herrings in a barrel, even 5 persons in one bed, and of someone worked at night, when one man was coming out of bed, the other one went to bed. Of the seven men who returned from the mine, 5 washed themselves in the same water which turned as black as liquid manure. There was no bath-tub, no running water like now.

Ours was a bitter life, but, nevertheless, we loved wach other like brothers. We met, conferred with one another, sought means of how to prove that we were cultural people, too. We started to establish brotherhoods, and when the Irish and the Poles saw that we stuck together, only then did they start to respect us. Afterwards, when the churches were being built as, for example, the one in Shamokin for as much as $75,000, even the older Irish started to become envious of us, and even afraid of us. To be sure, in those days, we still had no chance to attend schools in the evenings, because we were overworked in the daytime and, in addition, each of us was dreaming of returning home with the monies warned. Until later on, when we got married and our families began to grow, we began to drop the thought of ever returning to the old country, and began to become "Americans."

It wouldn't be a sin to brag about the fact that it was the Lemkos who had their own, first Ukrainian, intelligentsia, educated here, such as lawyers, physicians, and other professionals. The Lemkos, even though they were illiterate themselves, sent their children to school, for the simple reason that they wanted their children to earn their bread in a way easier than theirs. And this is why they followed the appeals printed in "Svoboda" (4) to the effect that "Our future lies in the school." Was it hard for us in those days to send our children to high schools! Everyone had to rely on his own resources.

One shouldn't even compare those days with the present ones. These days, there is Soyuz(5) with its assistance to the school-age youth, brotherhoods have their own funds, and people have hundreds and even thousands in the banks, or invested in houses, real estate, and even in currency. Well, all this should now be used to massively educate our children, because some of them must replace us and take over the leadership in national matters. We were laying foundations and building the life, but they must preserve all we acquired, they must develop it and add something new to it. Once we see that we are being replaced by our children, only then shall we be able to bid farewell to this world with clean conscience. Only then will our children understand why we wanted and had to want to build our life according to the slogan: "In one's own house, there is one's own truth, and strength and freedom."

FOOTNOTES

1. "Lemkos" - this name is used for Ukrainians inhabiting the westerly part of Western Ukraine, on both sides of Carpathian mountains. This part of W. Ukraine is known as "Lemkivshchyna".

2. "Lemkivshchyna" - See No. 1.

3. "Castle Garden" - a fort at Battery Park at the Southern edge of Manhattan, New York. Originally referred to as "Castle Clinton," it was built in 1807, served as fort, later on as a place for recreation. From 1855-1890, it was used as a transit camp for the immigrants, after 1890 as an aquarium.

4. "Svoboda" (Liberty, freedom) - Ukrainian newspaper. Started as a bi-weekly in September 1893; weekly-from 1894; three times a week - from 1915; 6 times a week - from 1920. From 1894 on, it became the official organ of the Ukrainian National Association. It appeared in Jersey City, then in Shamokin, Mt. Carmel, Olyphant, Scranton, New York, and from April 1911 again in Jersey City.

5. "Soyuz" - this word means "union". Ukrainians use it when referring to the Ukrainian National Association.

KAPITULA, Dmytro. "What it meant once to be an immigrant" (Immigrant's everyday life) Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Association in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of its existence. Jersey City, 1936. pp. 264-265.

When I first came to Honey Brook, there were but 300 people living there. This number included no more than 50 persons from Hungary and Galician Lemkivshchyna.(1) Others were Irish and Welsh, whom we called "Englishmen."

In those days, our people lived in shanties, far from the center of town. Where the "Englishmen" lived, our people were not permitted to reside. Shanties usually stood in lower areas.

In a shantie, there were usually two rooms. In one of them, there was a stove, and a collection of cups, pots, and other kitchen utensils. The other room was larger. It contained beds for the landlord and a table at which the "boarders" ate, and plank-beds on which they slept.

The house usually had no floor. Indeed, it was a shed. There were 6 inch-thick planks standing upright and nailed to the foundation or to the frame. On the frame was the roof. There were no weather-boards; the cracks were covered by roof-laths. The roof was made of shingles. When it was snowing, the snow was blown in. But at least there was a protection from the rain. Such houses were built by the coal companies. If someone ordered such a house, the company would build it, and then $6.00 would have to be paid monthly. The plank-beds were constructed by the people themselves; they were made of the beams brought from the breakers. Each boarder was buying himself the cloth for the straw-mattress, had the landlady sew a bag, bought from the farmer some rye-straw for 25¢, filled the bag with it, and then the bed was ready. Then followed the cotton blanket and quilt. There were no pillows. The fist served as one. Whoever moved out, took his belongings to the other boarding house.

There were no chairs in the houses. All there was was the tables and stools made of planks taken from the breakers. Only the landlord had a bed that was bought.

All people from the same locality were getting their water from one pipe, in one place; the water was coming out of the pipe standing upright. The coal, usually, was dumped on the street where it remained uncovered. When the landlady needed some coal, she simply took a pail, put some coal into it and took it into the house. Whoever was not entitled to take the coal, didn't take it.

For the board, the boarder paid $5.50 - 7.00 a month. For this, he was entitled to food, except sugar, butter and jelly. He was getting bread, coffee, cooked beef (half a pound) for supper, and one pound to work. The meat was usually "California Shoulder", ham. No other meat was delivered. From the salpetre in the meat, I started to have tooth-ache, and I asked the landlady to give me a different kind of meat, but other boarders were opposed to it, said the landlady, because it would cost them one cent a pound more. And so, I was forced to go on eating what was harmful to me.

Besides board, that is food, the boarder paid the landlady $2.00 for living quarters. If a landlady had 18 boarders, she was making $36.00, while a fireman in the mine made at best $40.00-50.00 a month. She was supposed to do the wash, prepare meals, make beds, etc. Later on, there were already living quarters with beds, but they were more expensive. When I moved to Mr. Bavolak's, there were beds there, and we paid $12.00 a month each.

A miner's day.

The life of the miners was the same every day in those days. At 5:30 A.M., the siren sounded in the mine. At the latest, we got up at 6 o'clock. The farther we had to go to work, the sooner we had to get up. Everyone had to be in the mine at 7 o'clock, to start working.

After getting up, the miner washed himself and had a cup of coffee. I had my own sugar, so I drank sweetened coffee; if I had no sugar, I drank unsweetened coffee. Then, everyone took some meat in his pail. Each day, someone else cut the meat. Whoever was cutting the meat, did it so that everyone would get the portion of lean and fat meat. Whoever wanted to eat immediately, could do it. Whatever was left, he put in the pail.

Coming back from work, the miner takes off his shirt, kneels on the floor by the two-handled tub, and washes himself. Frequently, the landlady washes his shoulders. In the evening, he has his supper; broth and half a pound of meat, sometimes pyrohy, dumplings, potatoes. As much bread was available as one wanted.

On Sunday, the landlady made some gravey. In the morning, after praying in front of the holy pictures, we would dip bread in the gravey. Whoever had his own mustard, used it with meat.

On Sunday, everyone was suffering from monotony. There was no companionship. There was a church in Hazleton in those days, but that was 5 miles away from the place I lived. Whoever wanted to go to church had to walk both ways. This was not too safe.

In the evenings, we used to sew gloves to protect our fingers from injuries by the coal. Then, we went to sleep. When there was more free time, people used to tell stories, play harmonica, violin, sometimes bought some beer, and danced. Most often, they played cards. In the summer, when the weather was nice, they went out to the woods, but even there they played cards.

There was no female company. Always men with men. If it happened that in the mining patch a woman appeared (for example, came from New York) and we saw her from the breaker, all of us were leaving work and ran to the windows to watch her as a greatest miracle. Whoever wanted to get married, had to write to his acquaintances in the old country, or his fellow-countrymen in other places, or go there to look for a wife.

The relationships with other people were usually interrupted by the "Englishmen". In those days, the Americans, the older immigrants, that is, had great hatred for our people, the later immigrants. They reproached us for coming here to spoil their work.

From Honey Brook to the post-office, which was then in Audenried, one had to walk about half mile. By the post office, on the street-corner, there was always a gathering which was very hard to pass. If there was snow, the boys would throw snowballs at you. In the summer - rocks or mud. Frequently, those boys would put a rock in the snowball and throw them at you. To pass them, it was necessary to bow and cover one's head with the hands. Having picked up the mail, one had to run fast.

If someone went for a drink, he was attacked, too. "John", they yelled, "give me chew." Then, they would take away his bottle of whiskey, drank it and let him go all beaten up. Later on, if someone wanted to go to Honey Brook to get booze, he would take his friend with him. He carried the bottle, while his friend had a good stick for protection.

Once the number of our people increased, we started to walk in groups and also beat the American hooligans. No one even thought of turning to police or to the court-house. Who ever knew if there were police and court-houses in America, if such things were happening!

There were no meetings, lectures, celebrations, or concerts. Nor were there our (i.e. Ukrainian - my note) books. There were no newspaper either, and no one knew how to read in English. To be sure, in Shenandoah, "America"(2) started to appear, but there wasn't much to read in it. People were not interested in social life, since nobody thought of staying in America. Everybody thought to have come here only to earn some money and to return to the old country. Many of us had debts - for transportation. They had to be paid off. Everybody was saving. Everybody had to be forced to do anything, as if believing that no matters were of any concern to him. Even when the first church was being organized, people used to say: "My church is in the old country."

Nobody knew anything about the banks. Nobody deposited the money in the banks. Everyone kept it under his belt, in the straw-mattresses, or handed it over to the landlady. The latter took good and conscientious care of it.

But while everyone was thinking of returning home, the life did its own thing. One started gradually to get used to America. If one was married, he brought his wife and children here. If unmarried, he looked for a wife. One never dropped the thought of returning home, but kept postponing it. And when he got a job which looked like a steady occupation, when he got married in America, when the children began to grow up, he couldn't return to the old country regardless of what he was saying. If he went there, it was just for a visit.

Then he started to think about how to learn American life, how to establish a social organization, church, school, newspaper, or club. These organizations filled his life to such a degree that he had no time to think returning home for good.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Lemkivshchyna" - the westerly part of Western Ukraine, on both sides of Carpathian mountains.

2. "America" - a Ukrainian bi-weekly (irregular), later on weekly. Published by Rev. Ivan Volanskyj from August 1886 - July 1890, later on by the parish in Shenandoah, Pa.

LITHUANIA AND THE LITHUANIANS
FLOWERS IN THE ETHNIC GARDEN OF WYOMING VALLEY

by

Nellie T. Bayoras

CHRONOLOGY

1251:	Establishment of the Lithuanian Kingdom.
1569-1795:	Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth.
1795-1915:	Lithuania under Russian rule.
1915-1918:	Lithuania under German occupation.
1918:	Restoration of Lithuania's Independence.
1920:	Elections to the Constituent Assembly (April 14-15) and Peace Treaty with Soviet Russia (July 12).
1926:	Non-Agression Pact with the U.S.S.R. (Sept. 28).
1939:	Secret Soviet-Nazi agreements against Lithuania (August 23 and September 28).
1940:	Soviet invasion of Lithuania (June 15); forcible incorporation into the U.S.S.R. (August 3), and beginning of organized Lithuanian resistance against Soviet Russian agression (October).
1941:	First mass deportations (June 14-20), armed revolt against Soviet occupation (June 22), and restoration of the Lithuanian Government (June 23).
1941-1944:	Lithuania under German occupation.
1944:	Second Soviet occupation of Lithuania.
1944-1952:	Lithuanian guerrilla warfare against the Soviets.

The above Chronology clearly illustrates the definite push factor for Lithuanians to emigrate from their native land and to seek peaceful existence elsewhere.

In the period of 1795 and 1915, during which the Lithuanians were under control of Russia were the most trying times. Lithuanian literature was prohibited and even then peasants were sent off to Siberia.

Economic difficulties added to the oppression of these poor peasants. It was a year of overabundant rainfall, crops were destroyed and there was famine. The year was 1867. The following year there was a drought and again a crop failure. The combination of all these factors forced these peace-loving peasants to leave their homeland.

PEASANTS ORIGIN

Lithuania, one of the Baltic States, is located in the eastern Baltic region. It is bounded on the north and east respectively, by Latvia and White Russia, the so-called Sovied republics, on the south by Poland and by the so-called "Kaliningrad Region" (prewar East Prussia, this German province is occupied now by the Soviets); on the west, Lithuania's Baltic coastline extends for 61 miles.

The territory of Lithuania covers an area of about 25,000 sq. miles. But the minimum area of ethnographical Lithuania, where the Lithuanian language is still spoken and where Lithuanian names of localities and other national characteristics still prevail, is considered to be not less than 38,000 sq. miles.

Lithuania is a flat country. None of its hills rises to more than 1,050 feet avove sea level. The country is rich in forests, meadows, and agricultural lands. The most important river is the Nemunas (Nimen, 582 miles).

The climate of Lithuania is of the modified humid continental type. The average temperature is 43.7 degrees. The hottest month of the year is the month of July, with an average temperature of 64.9. The coldest weather is in January, with an average temperature of 23.4 Fahrenheit. Average rainfall ranges between 20 and 40 inches.

The largest city of Lithuania is Vilnius (Vilna), with a population of about 309,000. The city of Vilnius was founded by Gediminas the Great, ruler of Lithuania, in 1323, and it has been the capital city of the country ever since, and is famous for its monuments of Baroque and Renaissance architecture. The other major cities of Lithuania are: Kaunas, Klaipeda (Memel), Siauliai, Panevezys, Marijampole, Ukmerge, Taurage, Alytus and Birzai.

The Lithuanians belong to the same Indo-Eurpean group of peoples as those of most European nations. They are the survivors of a separate and distinct branch of the Aryan family, and are not memvers of the Slavonic or Germanic lineage. Of all the living European peoples, only the Latvians are related to them. The forefathers of both the Lithuanians and the Latvians — the so-called Balts - once populated the whole shore of the Baltic Sea and occupied the reiong from the Vistula River to far beyond the Daugava River.

Lithuanians lived on the Baltic shores long before the Christian era. The first recorded reference to them is contained in the book Germania by the Roman historian Tacitus, in the 2nd century A.D. A clearer picture of Lithuania, however, emerged in the 9th and 10th centuries. The name Lithuania first entered the annals of hsitory in 1009, with a mention in the Annales Quedlinburgenses. The beginnings of written Lithuanian history are to be found in the early 13th century.

Isolated by the Baltic Sea, impenetrable forests, and the great Pripet marshlands, the ancient Lithuanians did not take part in the great migrations of nations, in the 4th and 6th centuries. They were peaceful hunters and cultivators of the soil, who carried on friendly trade with visiting merchants.

The peaceful life of Lithuanians was first disturbed by the Slavs and Vikings. But the most dangerous neighbor emerged in the 13th century, when the Order of the Teutonic Knights, a monastic and military organization, launched its eastern drive. The professed aim of the Order was the conversion of heathers to Christianity. In response to the Christian slogans of the Teutonic Knights, the Popes proclaimed the crusades against the Lithuanians, under the Order banners. The reality behind the slogans was quite different: it was simply a design to enslave the Baltic peoples and to seize their lands. Although they claimed officially to be servants of the Church, the Knights did not even allow missionaries to enter Lithuania.

The scattered forces of Prussian princes (Prusi or Borussi, a Baltic People, not to be confused with the German colonists of the conquered Prussian territory who adopted the name of the autochthonous inhabitants) enmeshed in local rivalries, were unable to halt the powerful military machine of the Order. In the course of 50 years, the Order conquered the western Prussian Principalities in the region now known as east Prussia.

The Teutonic Knights then turned on Lithuania proper: a life-and-death struggle began that was to last 150 years. To expand ever further Lithuania is undergoing this struggle to the present day, the peaceful Lithuanians continue to search for a quiet existence even now.

THE FLIGHT TO FREEDOM

The tillers of the Baltic soil left their homeland and came to the United States of America imbued with the same high ideals and purposes which inspired and motivated the immigrants of various Eurpoean countries. Theirs may have been even a more desperate move. This land of opportunity promised freedom from want and oppression, and the human birthrights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania attracted thousands of immigrants from many parts of Europe at the turn of the century.

Reports of the Immigration Commission list no Lithuanians before the 20th century immigrating to the United States, the reason was that the language barrier of the Lithuanians often caused the earlier immigrants to be listed as Polish or Russians.

The first Lithuanian came to America in 1869. Jonas Bapkauskas, one of the immigrants, describes his sea voyage undertaken in 1868:

> "Seven Lithuanians, left Hamburg on December 11, 1868. The ship which took us was named 'James Foster'. Our journey across the ocean took exactly three months."

The first Lithuanian to come to Pittston in 1869 was a Andrius Tepliusis, in Lithuania he was a book smuggler. The Russians had prohibited books or newspapers to be printed in the Lithuanian language. He did not make Pittston his permanent home.

A tailor by trade in Lithuania, Andrius Klimavicius, came to Pittston in 1870. He continued his trade as a tailor in Cohen's Store, Pittston. The store is still in business at the present time.

The year 1871 brought several more men from Lithuania:

They were:

Jurgis Norbutaitis
Vincas Blazys
Vincas Malskis
Juozas Tepliusis
Kazys Norbutaitis
Pranas Kemeza
Juozas and Pranas Rekliai
M. Sidarauskas
Jonas Balciunas
Kazys Anciukaitis
Jurgis Balciunas

All of the named above were men, it seemed women only came after men were established in a business. From the coal mines of Germany there came to Pittston Andrius Valiukas and Adomas Jesaiti it was the year 1874. These men were the first skilled laborers on record.

The first Lithuanian woman to come to Pittston was Magde Norbutaite she was the sister of Jurgis and Kazio Norbutaiciu, the year of 1875. Life was very difficult and lonely for these early immigrants. The language barrier made these men almost isolated.

After working at the lowest of jobs Jonas Balciunas, was able to scratch together enough money to return to Lithuania and bring back his wife Viktorija and 3 year old daughter, also Vincas Malskis's wife and daughter, Ona who shortly married Kazys Janciukaitis.

Women were really scarce and an incident happened in 1877 that showed how desperate and lonely these men were. Petras and Raulas Kasiuba, came to America with Motiejus Kasiuba, who had smuggled Mare Zilinskaite, out of Lithuania without the knowledge of her parents. She was married to Motiejus immediately upon arrival in Pittston.

These early settlers of Lithuanian descent came to Pittston to look for a better and more prosperous life but found only misery. Except for the few who worked for a time in Germany in the coal mines, jobs were not easy to be had. The jobs which no one else wanted was their lot. The Irish blocked employment for these men and many times would beat them. The Irish blocked employment, and accused these Lithuanians of being wild, called them "Polanders"-they (the Irish) knew about Poland but didn't know the difference of these new people. Adults and children alike would throw stones at the Lithuanians and many times damage the living area of these people. When the Lithuanian would work for an Irishman as a laborer in the mines he was treated quite cruely and many times cheated of his right wages.

The Lithuanians, tired of the oppression they had endured in the old world hesitated to fight back. That is until one day, S. Ramanauskas who ran a brewery in Pittston, was fed up day after day of seeing some Irishman come into his brewery, drink the beer and even do damage to the building, so he called a policeman. There was only one policeman at that time, and from all indication he was Irish, so nothing was done to alleviate thesituation. The Lithuanian couldn't take much more and organized the Lithuanians--the first battle of a seemingly peaceful people took place. When the Irishman came back the next evening to partake of a free booze party they received the shock and beating of their lives, the organized Liths-really let them have it. From then on the Irish never bothered them.

The New World provided very little for the wretched creatures. They lived poorly, they rarely got meat to eat; dry bread, potatoes, and soup was their daily diet.

Peter Krantz, a German, operated a rooming house on North Main Street in Pittston and it was here that these Lithuanians lived. Perhaps he afforded the first kindness these foreigners experienced since leaving their native land. For a fee of $5.00 a month for a room, their wash was done and they were given homemade bread. The rooms were not furnished so they had to acquire a bed and bedding.

Magde Norbutaitei, the first women who came to Pittston managed to acquire a house on Lambert Street; and it was here that eleven Lithuanians lived with her. This association among themselves in all probability helped to strengthen their outlook on life, which up to this point was bleak. Magde married Frank Kemezo and they moved to Nebraska. At that time the wives of Jono Balciuno and Vinco Malskio, came from Lithuania to make their homes with their husbands, and the men who ere unmarried made their home with them.

It was noted due to the shortage of women of their own nationality, some men resorted to marrying Irish, German, Welsh and Slovak women.

Being a God-fearing people, the worship of Almighty God according to their traditions and customs remained uppermost in the newcomers' minds and hearts. Their Catholic faith was something deeply intimate and dear to the hearts of these people. It was this love that caused them to spare no sacrifice to establish a church of their own in Pittston, Pennsylvania. Before this time because they spoke no other language it was difficult for them to go to confession. It was in 1886 that a native priest traveled to Pittston to hear confessions. Later Rev. P. Abromaitis came from Shenandoah and Rev. Aleksandrui Burbai from Plymouth offered their services a few times during the year. The first Lithuanian priest to offer his service was Rev. A. Varnagirs, from Freeland.

Meanwhile thoughts of a church of their own gave these immigrants a surge of hope and they seemed to pull themselves up with remarkable strength. Economic endeavors were flowering. A. Jesaiti opened a fruit store, unfortunately it burned in a few years. In 1884 Silvestras Paukstis opened a grocery store in West Pittston. Tamas Paukstis, a store near Broad Street, Pittston and after a few years built a store on North Main Street near Mill Street. The building still stands today. In 1888 Petras Kasuiba built a home and store on Center Street. He later opened a brewery. Their church was uppermost in their minds. A need for a more organized method to make concrete plans for the building of a church resulted in the formation of the Saints Casimir's Organization. It was these early settlers who drew up a charter for the building of their church; on November 14, 1885 a dream was realized. The following men were listed as charter members of the now official Saint Casimir's Church, of Pittston, Pennsylvania. The charter was granted on the 17th day of November 1885.

Vincent Blazys
Anthony Kline (Klimas)
Simon Kizis
Joseph Yawulis
Andrew Tephuszewich
Joseph Lopeta
Mathias Kasuba
Kazimier Kizis
Anthony Kizis
George Balchunas
John Moruzaitis
Joseph Maurukas

"... and Their Faith Has Made The Whole"

There were about 300 Lithuanians living in the Pittston area in 1886. With a unified effort all these persons pooled their financial resources and were able to purchase three lots at the cost of $1,931. The location of these lots on the corner of Butler and Church streets on the hill section of Pittston. It is worthy to note that it was in this part of town that the majority of the immigrants had clustered. The village atmosphere of the old country had been brought to the new.

Although the faithful still had no priest of their own they managed to uphold their religious practices and sought the aid of Rev. A. Varnagiris of Freeland, Pa. to come to hear confessions. The Sacrament of Penance seemed to be an utmost necessity for these early settlers.

Plans were drawn up for the church cuilding. It was to be a wooden structure, the dimensions 70' x 40'. Work progressed rapidly and the peasants were involved physically in the construction of the edifice. The actual construction took about two and a half years. When the building was completed, it was said to be the largest wooden building in Pittston.

On June 30, 1889 the fruits of the Lithuanian peasants labor were harvested. The church was completed and there was much joy and jubilant feeling. Outward exhibition of their feeling was necessary. Plans for the blessing of the cornerstone of the church included a parade. The newly organized Saint Casimir's Society was to lead the parade. Another Lithuanian organization Saint George's Society from Plymouth came up to Pittston by steam boat (those day's the steam boat traveled between Pittston and Nanticoke). Father Mathew from Saint John's church marched with his Cadets and Saint Aloysius Society. The ceremonies were held by the Pastor of Saint John's church, Rev. John Finnen. It seems ironic that the Irish nationality who had given the immigrants so much hardship were the ones who joined with them when it came to religion.

Bishop O'Hara from Scranton came to the celebration for the first Mass in Saint Casimir's Church were still without a parish priest. The first Mass was to be said by Rev. Alexander Burba from Plymouth. Father Burba was to come to Pittston by horse and carriage, the horses were frightened the carriage overturned and Rev. Burba was thrown out of the carriage and broke his leg. A delay in the celebration ensued and finally the Bishop together with Rev. A Varnagiris and Rev. P. Abromaiciu from Mahanoy City started the Mass.

It wasn't until 1890 that the parish had a resident priest. Rev. Jurgis Kolesinskas, was released from a Sibirian prison came to America and was appointed to serve in Saint Casimir's Church. After a year he was appointed to Saint George's Church, in Chicago, as pastor. It was at this time that a Polish priest would come to say Mass Rev. D. Ieanowski. The first to become a priest in America of Lithuanian immigrants was Rev. Juozas Zlotozinskas in the year of 1891. Rev. Zlotozinskas came from Shamokin, Pa.

Meanwhile the Lithuanians showed hope that they would eventually get a parish priest of their own. The parishioners were overcome with joy and cooperated in every way possible with the newly appointed pastor of Saint Casimir's Church, Rev. Zlotozenskas. Work was started on a home for their long awaited shepherd. A rectory was built, the cost was $4,500. Again the faithfull rallyed with their sweat and finances. He was an energetic man and worked very hard for his flock.

In 1893 a plot of ground was purchased for a cemetery. Before this time there was no mention of any death among the immigrants. The location of the land was in the Southern end of Pittston on Swallow Street. It is the present cemetery of Saint Casimir's. The parishoners paid $2,400 for the land. In June, 1893 the first Lithuanian to be buried was Antanas Milisauskas. He was killed in the coal mines.

Father J. Zlotozinskas led his people in types of moneymaking pursuits, as well as social functions. He was their leader, confessor, and many times the one they sought for counsel. He planned excursions, get-to-gethers with other areas where Lithuanians had settled. There were large concentrations of Lithuanians in Shamokin, Shenandoah, and Plymouth and he encouraged interaction with people.

The people loved this priest and worked hard with him. It was at a week long bazaar toward the end of 1895 that Father Zlotozinska took sick with pneumonia. Without medicine as we have today the priest steadily grew worse and died. One can imagine the grief that was displayed on the death of their beloved pastor. Once more they were sheep without a sheperd. Happy thoughts remained with them. He had left a legacy with which they could go on. During his stay at Saint Casimir's the first Lithuanian school in all America was started in 1891. Instructor was the church organist Jonas Starkevicius. The school had 30 students. The nuns from Saint John's Church taught them English. The foresight of these early Lithuanian settlers was remarkable. They wanted to keep alive the culture of their native land as well as teach their children the ways of the land they had adopted.

The following years brought a stepped immigration of their fellow Lithuanians. Pull factors aided these later immigrants decisions. Letters from Pittston even financial aid to help those in the Old Country to come to America and escape the tyranny they were experiencing.

Disappointments and Hope Renewed

All the immigrants dreams literally and physically went up in smoke on February 3, 1909 at 2:00 A.M. Saint Casimir's Church was completely destroyed by fire. All the years of hard work and sacrifice came to an end in a few short hours. Total damage was listed at $20,000. The edifice was insured for a total of $21,000, the insurance company paid them $16,000.

No time was lost for on February 4, 1909 just a few hours after the fire destroyed their church these tenacious and loyal parishioners held a meeting to discuss the rebuilding of their church. On April 12, 1909 a committee met with an architect and made final plans for the building. It was to be of brick at a cost of $40,000. At another meeting the contents of the first cornerstone was revealed. In it was European money, a copy of the Evening Gazette, a copy of the Scranton Republic dated June 27, 1899. Written in Latin was a reading by Rev. John Finnen; a paper stating Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, James Beaver, Governor of Pennsylvania.

On August 22, 1909 the new cornerstone was blessed. Monsignor T.F. Coffey, V.G. came by D. & H. train for the ceremony. A solemn parade took place, six bands participated. The parade started on William Street to Main Street; south on Main Street to Swallow Street and back up Mill Street to Church Street. In the first carriage leading the parade were, Monsignor T.F. Coffey, V.G. Rev. M. Pankauskas from Forest City, Rev. A. Kaupas, pastor of Saint Casimir's Church and W.H. Gillispie, Mayor of Pittston. There were many priests of different nationalities, laypeople, societies of various churches and friends took part in the procession.

The contractor for the new church was M. Shipp of Scranton, Pa. the architect L.H. Giele, New York, N.Y.

The new church was blessed March 28, 1910. Before this time services were held in Saint John's Church, Pittston.

The cost of the new church was $44,000.

May 16, 1912, Rev. Jonas (John) Kasakaitis, was appointed pastor of Saint Casimir's Church. He was pastor of the church over 50 years.

At the present the pastor is Rev. Peter J. Alisauskas.

National and Patriotic Feeling

The peasants did not forget the land of their birth and contested to this in a demonstration held March 4, 1894 to protest the cruel treatment of fellow Lithuanians by the Russians. Lithuanians from Plymouth, Wilkes-Barre, and Pittston gathered in Wilkes-Barre for this demonstration. Seven thousand people participated.

In 1916 the concern for the Lithuanians left behind mounted. A representation of Lithuanians went to Washinton, D.C. to meet with Representative J.J. Casey to discuss the situation in Lithuania. President Woodrow Wilson was briefed on this meeting. (To this day that concern exists for our relatives and friends in Lithuania.) Lithuanians throughout the United States donated money to aid their fellow countrymen.

Politically there were two Lithuanians who voted in 1891. Lithuanian Political Organization was formed (consisting of ten members) to get their citizenship and to get their people into politics. The Lithuanians were aggressive and sensed the need to get involved in politics.

It was in the year 1899 that the Immigration Commission recognized the Lithuanian. Before this they were referred to as Russian or Polish. Their involvement in politics might have helped their recognition.

In 1913, Lithuanians had a candidate on the ballot for mayor. He was Leo Sheporaitis, (he owned a soft drink company on N. Main Street, Pittston; the business is still operating under another owner).

In 1917 Andrew Kizis ran for city councilman. Leo Sheporaitis was elected as councilman in Pittston for a term of two years in 1933. Later on there were other Lithuanians who became interested in politics.

The Lithuanians were strong in spirit for their adopted home. During World War I, 125 men from Saint Casimir's Parish served in the service of their country. Many were naturalized citizens.

On September 25, 1919, a giant welcome home party for all returning Lithuanians who served in the war was held at the State Armory Hall, Pittston.

World War II, saw many of the immigrants sons and daughters, going off to fight on foreign soil. Some close to the homelands of their parents, who fled the oppression that was forced on Them. My two brothers served in World War II and one of my brothers met Lithuanians that were forced to leave Lithuania or face prison, or death.

Accomplishments

The task of building a church and attending to their spiritual needs accomplished, the young men and women felt a need too band together for social and economic reasons. Out of this need in the year 1886, came a first fraternal organization in America. It played an important part in the lives of immigrants. It was the "Susivienymas Visu Lietuvninku Amerikoje". It eventually became two fraternal organizations, "Lithuanian Alliance of America" and "Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance of America," both have lodges throughout the United States.

In 1906 at a private home in the first block of Mill Street in Pittston a group of men to make plans for the "Lithuanian Citizens Social and Beneficial Club. Its prupose was to promote morality and uphold the Lithuanian culture. Thus the bond of nationality and culture member, Charles Zareckis is living in Exeter, Pa. The club is still active and has been chartered 68 years.

The year of 1928, was a great year for the Women of Wyoming Valley. February 28, 1928, under the initiative of Mrs. Joseph Zelinsky and Mrs. Ben Stankewiz, a group of women met. Out of that meeting emerged a club for all the Lithuanian women of the Valley, the "Lithuanian Women's Club of Wyoming Valley." It had its 47th cirthday this year and is still active.

Of course there were others and still are, but they are too many to mention at this time.

For several years the Lithuanians were keeping pace in adjusting to their new home. Though financially they were not comfortable they found happiness in reviving customs and smoothing over their disappointments with their "dainos" folk song handed down through the years. A church choir was started in 1891 and this was the opportunity to bind themselves in song.

Very few people on the globe are so closely bound with their folk song as the Lithuanians. It may be remarked that the "daina" played a very great role and in many cases has been said-saved the native language from total extinction. The Lithuanian peasant did not undertake any venture without song, consequently has a vast tresury of song. There are love, wedding, working, mourning, and mocking songs not to mention mythogical and epic songs.

Whenever a group of Lithuanians were gathered in Pittston there was sure to be song festival to keep alive the memory of the "dainos". The first Lithuanian band was formed in 1894 at Pittston, it was said to be the best in Pennsylvania. There were 24 members in this band, one of whom was an Irishman. They bought instruments for which they paid $600. Their leader was a German by the name of Adrian. There was a bazaar held in the Pittston area (Valley View Park, Inkerman) which lasted a week. This band played the entire week free of charge. Valley View Park became the gathering place for many Lithuanian Day Picnics, in the year of 1914 month of April 4,000 attended. The park where many families left their cares of the years behind and sung away their troubles has since become a development. With all the amusement parks slowly vanishing Lithuanian Day is celebrated each year at Lake Wood Park, Barnsville, Pennsylvania in August.

In 1907 the Lithuanians had a Drama Group and put on productions in their native tongue. Today in the larger cities it is still being done. In Chicago, Ill. the Lithuanians put on operas in the Lithuanian language, at least once a year. In Pittston a Lithuanian Music Club was formed in 1914. Prior to this in 1912 a library for the Lithuanians was established in Pittston. A total of 300 Lithuanian books were gathered and English books were obtained from the Pa. State Free Library.

When the children of the Lithuanian immigrants went to school many did not speak the Englsih language. (I know my oldest brother had many difficulties in school because of the language, we only spoke the Lithuanian language in our home). In spite of all the obstables, there is a long list of Lithuanians that reached prefessions such as Doctors, Attorneys, Priests, Nuns, Druggists, teachers, undertakers, nurses, in fact R.J. (Bob) Donbroski, of FSC's Houston Operstions, has been actively involved in all Apollo lunar missions, except Apollo II. During that mission Donbroski was working with the team for Apollo 12. Donbroski is a computer supervisor in Mission Control for the Apollo 17 mission, as he has been on Apollo 14, 15, 16. He is a resident of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania his parents still reside there. One can truthfully say that the Lithuanians were and are found in all walks of life. They were a proud people.

The 30's and Depression

Pittston as well as the rest of the United States felt the damaging blow of the depression. The Lithuainians who had engaged in business were forced to close their businesses. Most of the time business was done as a credit proposition. The miners who paid weekly on their food bills, now had no money in which to settle their account. It was during these years that 79 Lithuanian families left the Pittston area to look for employment; 369 men and 657 women left Pittston. Some never did return. The following years were a struggle for the Lithuanian but they never forgot their Lithuanian Heritage. Saint Casimir's Choir appeared in concert at the World's Fair in New York in 1937.

The Lithuanians show evidence even today in their fight for the recognition of the Independence of Lithuania. Many like myself second generation immigrant feel strongly about keeping alive the ideals our parents and grand-parents tried so hard to achieve.

Our forefather's journey was so hard, it is up to us to learn from our parents, the paths they have taken, what they have kept and built. Day after day they leave this world but they leave us a bright and better future because of their toils. If we walk the paths they walked and uphold what they have built the world will be a better place. With good fortune we must travel these paths and be proud of our heritage.

MEMORANDA

NATIONAL FLAG

Horizontal strips of yellow, green, and red.

STATE EMBLEM

VYTIS, a mounted knight in white on a field of red.

NATIONAL HOLIDAYS

February 16 - Day of the Restoration of Independence.
September 8 - Day of Lithuanian Kingdom

NATIONAL ANTHEM

The national anthem "Lietuva Tevyne Musa"; Lithuania Our Fatherland, written by, Dr. Vincas Kudirka, (translation).

"Hail Lithuania triumphant
Land of heroes' story,
From the past thy sons may ever
Draw their strength and glory
May thy children ever follow
Their undaunted fathers,
In devotion to their country
And good will to others.
May the sun of our loved shore
Shine upon us evermore,
May our faith and the truth
Keep our pathway lighted.
May the love of Fatherland
Make us strong of heart and hand
May our land, ever stand
Peaceful and united."

LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE

Modern Lithuanian is written in Roman Characters and has an alphabet of 32 letters.

Philology has not yet solved the exact origin of the Lithuanian language, but it can be stated with certainty that the Lithuanian has been preserved in a condition close to the accepted form of Indo-European. Lithuanian grammar resembles the accepted form of Indo-European grammar, and is the oldest Indo-European language still spoken. When savants constructed sentences of Sanskirt words, the peasants about the Nieman and Baltic Sea easily understood these sentences. Philologists had concluded that Lithuanian was an offspring of Sanskirt, but it is clear that Lithuanian is the older, and it can only be surmised that Lithuanian is a distant aunt of Sanskirt. Whole sentences are strongly similar to the same sentences in Greek and Latin.

(example) Lithuanian: Dievas dave dantis, duos ir duonos.

Grrek: Zeus Dedoke odontas, dosei siton.

meaning; God has given teeth; he will give bread.

Lithuanian; Vyrai, trakite jungen.
Latin; Viri, trahite jugum. (Man drag the yoke).

As of 1975, Lithuanian language is being taught at, Kent University and Yale College.

From The Roots

By

Clement L. Valletta

Farmers in Pennsylvania and other states are selling their produce directly to consumers. Sales take place at several convenient locations as well as at the traditional farmers' markets. State officials speak of encouraging activity that, they say, will "squeeze the middle man." Forms of cooperation increase during times of high inflation. Immigrants in this locality took action as early as 1910 against high prices. A small group of Italian Americans living in the Keystone-Ridgewood Section of Plains Township questioned the need to pay so dearly--as the story goes--for a round of cheese. They decided to form a store owned by the patrons. By the early 1920's they bought wholesale and sold products slightly above cost. Any monies remaining after costs were returned to the shareholders based upon the amount of articles they purchased. The group of immigrants devised the by-laws of their organization which during the next twenty years was to be followed by several other corporations.[1]

The Statutes of the Perugia Beneficial Society set forth terms of selection of new members, obligations, penalties, as well as duties of officers. At first an aspirant had to be of Italian descent, speak Italian, and reside in the locality for a period of three months or so. One negative vote (black ball) from any active member meant refusal. Since the balloting was done secretly, no reasons were given.

Later on, a new member was not necessarily of Italian descent, and the vote for acceptance was by a majority or two-thirds of the active members. Social membership in the corporation was granted less casually, a place was made for those children of active members who intermarried.

The social club and the cooperative provided dividends based upon purchases. Those who consumed more enjoyed of course a greater share. Members had to buy at the store and were forbidden to acquire a store of their own. The Perugia Corporation sold beverages, foodstuffs, househol goods, and clothing. "We bought Bostonians," they still remember, "for five dollars--we had to come here to get corns." Wholesalers visited the store to bid, and the corporation had membership in distributing firms. Informants say that the corporation acquired "the best food, the best cuts of meat, olive oil, macaroni, cheese. . . ." Prices on canned goods were "a few cents under" the chain stores.

Members took turns at the counter and followed prescribed hours and duties. Those in violation were fined or dismissed for refusing their turn, not cleaning up properly, not keeping accurate accounts, not having sufficient inventory. These requirements held for the store and the club, embellished by specifications about having two members open the account box--on the assumption that two are more honest than one, having a careless member pay a small fine for littering, and forbidding political or religious discussion. The latter objection was to avoid altercations; however, members say they have discussed such subjects in peaceful ways.

Members shared extensively in administration of the corporations requiring the usual officers (President, Vice-president, etc.) as well as auditors, cashiers, purchasers, trustees, and porter and stewarts. Each administration had to have its books audited every three months. Surviving members are fond of saying that "the old-timers watched every penny." Although issues were decided by majority or often two-thirds vote, the president did have final authority in some organizations to close off debate, or to silence a member who made the same objection three times. A member who missed a meeting was not to voice himself about it at the next meeting. The Keystone cooperative provided for a Director as well as a President

Thereby distinguishing day-to-day operations from policy-making deliberations. Some clubs were able after awhile to pay a club stewart and/or store manager to work full-time. He was, needless to say, watched very closely by the Administration and members. Problems were avoided by having members pay in advance for tokens to use in the club or to pay in advance to the store based upon anticipated purchases. Thus members ran their clubs and corporations upon an intricate system of decentralization of powers, checks and double checks of accounts, closely prescribed duties and penalties, restricted memberships, designations of value in tokens, advanced payments, or shares other than in cash, per se.

The members had interest in doing as much for themselves as was possible and in those times necessary. Inflation, paucity of government programs and interference, non-existence of help from the coal industry as well as old country concerns all meant that local groups invested capital and watched it closely. Cash was important of course but of greater value were goods--"money you can't eat it, what can do with it" as one first generation lady put it. Wine, for instance, was regarded as a food for the family, and an essential part of virtually all community activities. Members purchased whole boxcars of California grapes, muscatel and zinfandel, to make upwards of one hundred and twenty barrels of wine. In the fall of one year the Keystone Club burned and with it over a hundred barrels stored in the basement. The members rebuilt the wooden upper story in brick and between the basement and first level laid a six-inch concrete floor. Never again would the wine be lost. Moreover, the supply was rationed throughout the year and at Christmas each member received an additional two gallons. During prohibition the members enjoyed afternoon festivities behind the club underneath grape arbors. Today, members say they cannot readily afford to pay for California grapes.

In the early day, the corporation centralized many community activities besides wine making. Members or their children held marriage receptions in the club hall. The corporation always responded to the needs of each member's family. If a member died, usually as a result of a mining accident, the members sponsored a function to provide funds to the widow. The fatherless family was kept as a member of the corporation. Members gathered at the hall and marched in a body to the funeral. The larger corporations had bands which played dirges, and all members paid their respects to the family. Each year the corporation remembered its founding date with a banquet for the members Some organizations had suckling roasts and block parties to include families

When the UMW local went out of business, the Perugia Corporation was able to acquire the union hall which now serves as a recreation center of sorts. The store is now in private hands, but the club is still operated as a cooperative, paying dividends and specifying duties. It is still a place to relax with old friends, and the yearly banquet is still held. Since World War II the corporations have been diminishing their functions. Informants believe that although the Great Depression increased interest in consumer cooperation, the War and later years meant jobs and "a lot of money around" which rendered cooperation less desirable than mobility and individualized changes in life style. The education of the young for business and professional jobs undoubtedly hastened the change. This process was offset by recessions and even now some speak of renewing the cooperations. But inevitably somebody will say,"No, nobody wants to work today, everything is the dollar."--but others are not sure.

Of some interest is why the corporations were started in the first place and

What is signified by such activity. There is not much evidence that other nationalities founded such consumer cooperatives. Polish,Slovak, Russian, and other Central European groups founded much larger organizations which often sponsored in effect credit unions for members and approved non-members. All groups had initially to overcome discrimination of nativist capitalists who did not provide mortgages to the new immigrants. Many a bank in Pittston, Nanticoke, and Hazleton Area was started by the second generation (as indeed A.P. Fianini started the Bank of America in California) to cater to the "new" immigrant.

The consumer cooperatives were in some ways a logical Italization or should it be Americanization of the company store. They must have wanted to use the more familiar language in their business dealings. The innate conservativism of most immigrants used to years of toil for meagre earnings meant bitterness at having to pay companies and their stores for virtually everything--rent, fuel, food, clothing, mining supplies. A case might be made for a more urban or communal consciousness on the part of Central Europeans but certainly not for Italians: "Solidarity was comprehensible only within limits of familial existance" on the part of Italians. Southern Italians had virtually no "synonym for the English word "community," the Russian "mir", or the German "gemeinde."[2] "Whereas the South Italian was a member of two main primary groups, the family and the village, the Pole in Europe had membership in several primary groups with different functions: the family, the village, the parish, the commune, and the okolica or the 'country around'. . . . " Moreover the Pole was usually interested in the cultural, intellectual, and military heroes of his ancestry who symbolized Polish nationality and identity. The southern Italian was somewhat more skeptical of national heroes with certain exceptions perhaps like Mazzini, Cavour,Gapibaldi. Those familiar with the history of southern and central Europe can formulate several reasons for the differences of life style.

Yet the local Italian cooperatives demonstrated a high degree of communal activity. It is true that immigrants needed to join beneficial and burial societies of their own in an English-speaking society and a coal mining economy. Europeans used to a different life style needed to form clubs that were open on weekends and were in many ways an extension of the family. In other words, the men could organize activities like cards, mora, the wheel, and even simpler recreation without the pressures to drink and remain as patrons that existed at privately owned clubs and taverns.

Still this does not account for the cooperation; moreover, there were other far-reaching efforts of solidarity. So intricate are these that one needs to spend years unraveling the stories, histories, and implied meanings. The statutes specify that those of "repudiate character" are excluded but do not indicate what that means. Members do not like to talk about "squealers" and "scabs" but they are very careful to condemn those few who betrayed their fellow men in the mines. Mine bosses and workers will acknowledge the solidary of the entire UMW membership in its early days; and they will say that the Italian miners "stuck together" so much some companies did not like to hire them. The locals made up of Italian miners and union officials were usually strong,efficient, and honest. At any rate this is the story those in Keystone and in other areas tell.

Even more intricate were the dealings by the corporation to acquire the colliery in Keystone which had gone into receivership. In the late twenties, the Perugia Society was prepared to buy the bankrupt coal mine and run it, presumably along the lines of a cooperative. Although a lawyer was retained, the courts denied the petition of the Perugia Beneficial Society to take over the mine. Soon in Wyoming Valley contractors of the various nationalities would run shafts that were in the hands of the major companies. Soon old and honored contracts about numbers of cars to load were circumvented, and coupled with major technological changes in mining the industry entered a new phase. The "Cappellini insurrection" in the union in 1920, which restored the old contract, was in the realm of fond memory by the 1930s. Again one has to infer the extent of cooperation among the newer nationalities (which was, by the way, the title of a local pan-ethnic movement of the 1920s).

Upon further study of a seemingly random and irrelevant activity like an Italian cooperative one begins to see into a drama made more fascinating if one has enjoyed Pirandello's or Shakespeare's webs. The actors arrange their own plot, and the character attain nobility in defining moral order and following exponents who risked their lives organizing mining workmen. All of this occuring within a few years of emigration from lands deep in feudal traditions--or so the stereotype runs despite what we know: life in the mining patch was a feudalistic and plutocratic as European economic organization; common workmen, immigrants without American schooling, fought democratically against tyrannies of union and mining bosses most of whom were schooled in America.

We look to the upper reaches of the streams of history and this takes us in this case to Central not Southern Italy. The generalizations about ethnic ancestries even "learned ones" are often stereotypes. The actual ancestries are too much involved to hazard very many sensible conclusions. If we examine the sources of the cooperatives, that is the provincial backgroud of the founders, we see that practically all came from Central Italy especially from Umbria of which Perugia. The pattern is unmistakeable. It may be seen as a reason for cooperation inasmuch as the immigrants were paesani, or from the same provincial village, and thus trusted and respected each other. Although Sicilian immigrants in Pittston founded clubs with village names they did not form cooperatives so far as we know; nor for that matter did large settlements of Neapolitans or Tyroleans who settled in other parts of the Valley. A logical question to ask older people is whether or not the old timers spoke of cooperatives existing in the old country. Yes, they remember conversations about the "cooperativa." Still, analysis of influence is tenuous because there were cooperatives in northern as well as central Italy; our information about this area and about immigrant activity is far from complete; and existing sources are often written to support very different theses. J.S. MacDonald, for instance, explains the lower emigration from central than from southern Italy (despite comparable degrees of poverty in each section) by pointing to the greater militant, working-class organization in the Center. Thus people of the Center believed they were more able to change things. The Center comprises Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Umbria, and the Marches. The Center and Apulia were "strongholds of rural working-class military" and "they also founded co-operatives to replace private trade and perform public works."[4] As early as 1869 in Italy "the cooperative movement among wokers also continued to make headway as evidenced by the fact that most of the cooperative stores were managed by workers' associations."[5] There were Federated Leagues and organized workers confined almost exclusively to Northern and Central Italy.[6] The North Italian pattern was marked by less military than the Center and less identification as a working class or share cropper for large landowners. The owners moreover formed an economic unity to hire engineers and other experts and to buy seed, fertilizers, and equipment and to market products"[7] much as entrepreneurs were doing throughout the western world. Thus family and ethnic identity taken together with organization history may account for area cooperative and union activity.

"Swirling waters of the swollen Susquehanna River broke into the Knox Mine South of Pittston yesterday morning and trapped 45 workers. Thirty-three men had been rescued last night and 12 were missing."[8] Thus ended deep mining in the Wyoming Valley; the mining parches, severe working and accident conditions, death of young fathers, husbands, brothers from Black Lung; the family war-ravaged, so many of the men gone; survivers straining for air to breathe. They call anthracosilicosis "man-made plaque,"[9] and: "Some of the (the colliers) committ suicide . . . because of the great pain, . . . rather than try to go on and gasp, and live in that condition, and we have a case of a widow her husband, at the age of 37, after working in the mines, he contracted this disease, and finally took carbolic acid to end his life. . . .[10] To millions of Americans Black Lung legislation in the coal regions has meant a national recognition and reaction to other industrial diseases --asbestosis, blast furnace pneumoconiosis, cement workers' lung, china-clay pneumoconiosis, farmers' lung, fiber glass lung, talco-silicosis. . . . The list goes on and on.

One of the most significant contribution of local immigrants and their spokesmen (Dr. Joseph Kocyan, Rep. James Musto, Rep. Daniel Flood, Attorney Blythe Evans, Sen. Schweicker--there are many) is the way state and federal government was directed to undertake responsibility for the "man-made plague." The impersonal, profit and production direction of modern industrial corporation and unionization did not always take responsibility for the condition of employee-member lungs and hearts.

The civilize, to make responsible has been the contribution of each ethnic group; to industrialize, to "improve" has also been the contribution of each ethnic group. The ironies of the drama counterpoint the course of American civilization, or rather, the attempts to civilize the continent. The frontiermen in Pennsylvania were Scotch-Irish and others of Britain who enjoyed an existence at outposts of conflict with French and Indians and later with Indians and other ethnic and immigrant groups. They were not particularly good farmers, the Scotch-Irish, rapidly depleting the land and selling it off to successive waves of immigrants such as the Germans and Scandinavians who desired a more stable and ordered village and city life. Later immigrants in this area who also favored that settled life style had the great task--and signal contribution--of reclaiming barren land, of organizing to encourage company, union, and governmental responsibility, of inventing and applying new techniques, of subtly redirecting and reordering their and their children's values, and of integrating agricultural and industrial ways of living.

Those familiar with the history of most neighborhoods in this area know that the coal miner and his family depended upon the extensive garden and livestock he maintained in his backyard. He and his wife knew how to extract a high yield of crops, to can foodstuffs, butcher and cure meat, to make wine, beer, and liquor, to make bread and other goods. Even those in central city areas had access to shipments of fresh fruits and vegetables untained by processing and homogenization. A closeness to land meant a partial but strong degree of independence, and reemphasized a cyclical sense of time in the rhythm of seasons. The church calendar buttressed the yearly round of celebration and fasting, planting, cultivating and harvesting; thus the immigrants sought to retain ethnic churches especially since each group not only spoke a distinct language but because the holidays and other ceremonies had to be celebrated in precise, traditional ways. Wedding ceremonies (and baptismal and all family related celebrations) were so important, lasting many days, because the family lived and perpetuated the physical and spiritual dimensions of value. In other words, the family was a universe. Church, neighborhoods, immigrants press all supported this world--the church most of all. It also was the aesthetic expression of an ethnic group. Many local Roman Catholic churches have not removed the statuary despite ecclesiastical pressures to do so. Pastors who have tried to change interiors meet with objections often from individuals and families who have sacrificed to pay for statues and other religious objects.

These points only suggest the rich context of ethnic life. A new immigrant did not arrive in a setting that a congenial to him. A British immigrant could readily participate through speaking the language, attending churches, obtaining a job, engaging in politics. The other immigrants had to fashion their world that was essentially like that of others including the British once the externals were put aside, but that was to happen later.[12] Thes points may explain how immigrants accepted coal mining as a way to earn good wages in the relatively short time necessary to reconstruct a civilized life: the tiny farms, the churches, a village-like boundary, the family celebrations intact.

Thus land had to be reclaimed. The Poles in Nanticoke, for instance, purchased swamp land from the Susquehanna Coal Company in order to build their church. Today this area is beautifully developed with church, rectory, and school. This center so descriptive of parishes throughout the area reflects urban and village centers existing throughout Europe. While the latter were planned as great focal points, in America ethnic groups performed transformations of unwanted lands--feats made all the more amazing the more we know about the early histories of each parish. The same can be said about the histories of the mining patches, small farms along the River, neighborhood parks.

The relatively few Blacks settling in the Valley did not have the advantage of numbers and a tradition free from centuries of oppression in America. When contributions of groups are measured the source matters as the crucial point of comparison much more than what is perceived as a general American identity. Yet the contributions in art, for instance, by the Morris and Patience families rank with the most outstanding of any in the area. Only now is the western world recognizing the contributions of Black Americans--the ancestral roots evident in our greatest music, and art, since the cubist revolutions of Picasso and Braque.

Civilization meant organized activity of beneficial societies, cooperatives, credit union, the founding dates of which when corelated with church construction identified the emergence of a permanent community. Once a group of families acquired homes and learned a little English the settlement took root. It generally took place after three years. Political and economic organization was at first presided over by the neighborhood saloon-keeper. He served as ombudsman facilitating adaptation to jobs, a boarding house, correspondence of information and money to the old country, temporary banker, voter registrar, local realtor. His was one of the few telephones in the neighborhood and in cases of amily emergency he called a physician or provided ambulance service. His political and other influence persisted until the neighborhood set up its own clubs, the union established meeting halls, and modernization with phones, automobiles, and institutional structures took over. The solidarity of the immigrants survived even the saloon-keeper. The view of the Immigration Commission studying the anthracite area noted that funeral attendance by members of fraternal organizations was so general "that the operation of a colliery is frequently cripped by a succession of deaths among the employees." One of the "best results" of the associations the commission found, was " the minimization of the amount of public relief for the poor and afflicted families." Mine bosses and English-speaking miners believed that all groups "make zealous unionists, especially when it is necessary to make a show-down of strength."[13] Many old photographs show Polish and other men decked out in military uniform. In Nanticoke, for instance, non-Polish inhabitants shouted cat-calls and threw stones at members of St. Stanislaus parish who worshipped at first in a primitive structure. So the parishioners dressed in uniform and with swords drawn marched down the street toward the church. That in addition to physical retaliation by Polish laborers against non-Polish miners who paid then unjustly resulted in a more civil community.[14] The forms of organization were many and varied.

The professional activities of Dr. Joseph Kocyan were characterized by a strong sense of organization. He helped organize the Tatra group composed of Polish and Slavonic nationalities. He realized very early the effect of industrial lung diseases in the axle works in North Wilkes-Barre; and he testified strenuously on behalf of Black Lung legislation for miners. He realized the value of joint effort. He said that "cancer can be controlled and conquered on a community basis" . . . not individually, but with the full resources of the community . . . "hospital, laboratory, radium, and financial aid."[15] Dr. Kocyan's contributions cannot be summarized in this short space; neither can those of Father Joseph Murgas except to suggest their organizational and social as distinct from individualistic outlook.

Rev. Murgas's contributions are probably not recognized as fully as they should be ironically because he was disinterested in fame. Had he been he might have wrenched his place in even the most biased of histories. His tone system and direct beam transmission were meant to avoid disasters and alleviate misery through overland wireless telegraphy. His efforts on behalf of Slovak independence illustrated the quintessence of organizational activity reaching from the Slovak neighborhood in Wilkes-Barre across the United States to Europe there to attempt to liberate his homeland! Scholars have yet to gauge the influence of American immigrants upon Woodrow Wilson and the formation of post World War I Europe.

Attempts to civilize this area took entrepreneureal forms as well. Still to be studied are the contributions of local active businessmen and their families. No really adequate study exists of Amedeo Obici, for example, who together with Mario Peruzzi founded the Planters Nut and Chocolate Company in Wilkes-Barre in 1907. It is worth noting that the company brought in "low profits" because executive salaries were low, employee salaries relatively high, and the firm closely run by Obici,Peruzzi and their families.[16] This pattern which is true of many firms may be contrasted with impersonal forms of corporate structure.

III

The BBC showed not long ago a film about the problems of safety in the mines of Appalachia. When Welsh miners saw the film one said, "I personally would sooner starve than work in the conditions of their support roofs."[17] A Cologne University Professor analyzed ethnicity as an alternative to what people ask of national government: "We ask it to provide not only peace and prosperity but social justice, welfare, good-quality environment, happiness."[18] Some officials and observers (such as Susan Jacoby) believe immigration to America is now at its highest point in half a century. We notice that American scholars are attempting to apply concepts derived from American immigration to behavior of peoples of the Third World.

Given these perspectives the understanding of ethnic experience of the turn of the century is a good way to bring some sense to present and future decisions at both personal and institutional levels. This is at least one way--there are others--to escape the lonely crowd, to constantly awaken the self to reality. Our greatest writers (from Thoreau, Melville, and Whitman to Faulkner, Hemingway and Vonnegut) knew this; and so did do Tocqueville who saw that as persons are able to "satisfy their own wants" that "not only does democracy make every man forget his ancestors, but it hides his descendants and separates his contemporaries from him; it throws him back forever upon himself alone and threatens in the end to confine him entirely within the solitude of his own heart."[19]

FOOTNOTES

1. Other organizations include Umbria, Keystone Ridgewood; Italian Citizens, Hudson; Italian Service Club, Plains, Hilldale Corporation, Exeter; West Wyoming; Luzerne; Parsons; Sugar Notch; Mocanaqua. Sources for subsequent discussion are Statute books.

2. Leonard Covello, The Social Background of the Italo-American School Child: A Study of the Southern Italian Family Mores and Their Effect on the School Situation in Italy and America, ed. Francesco Cordasco (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967, 1st pub. 194), p. 152.

3. Richard A Schermerhorn, These Our People (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1949), p. 269.

4. J.S. MacDonald, "Agricultural Organization, Migration and Labour Militancy in Rural Italy," The Economic History Review, XXIII (Summer, 1964), p. 67.

5. Humbert L. Gualtieri, The Labor Movement in Italy (New York: S.F. Vann, 195), p. 79. See also James and Agnes Warbasse, "Credit at Cost for the People," Our World (May, 1924) p. 106; "Cooperative Movement Abroad," U.S. Dept. of Labor Monthly Review XIV (April, 1922), p. 227 which describes the unique "variety" of Italian cooperatives.

6. Ibid, p. 267.

7. John S. MacDonald, and Beatrice MacDonald "Institutional Economics and Rural Development: Two Italian Types," Human Organization XXIII (Summer, 1964), p.116.

8. Wilkes-Barre Record, Friday, January 23, 1959, P. 1.

9. Lorin E. Kerr, M.D. "Statement on State Workmen's Compensation to the National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Laws, September 22, 1971," qouted in Hearings before Subcommittee on Labor, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Black Lung Legislation 1971-72 (Washington, D.D.: U.S. Printing Office, 1972), p.57.

10. Attorney Blythe Evans, Ibid., pp. 307-308.

11. For an excellent study of British Immigrants in industry including the coal mines see Rowland T. Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America 1790-1950 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953).

12. This observation about successive generations is documented through questionnaires and surveys taken by Andrew Greeley in for example Colin Green, Ed. Divided Society: The Ethnic Experience in America (New York: Basic Books, 1974), p. 377.

13. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol XVI Immigrants in Industries, 1910, pp. 678-679.

14. Sister M. Accursia, Bern. O.S.F., "Polish Miners in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania", Polish American Studies III (January - June, 1946), p. 8. Her description of Polish family, neighborhood, and church life are excellent.

15. Wilkes-Barre Record, April 29, 1947.

16. See Fortune XVII, 1938, pp. 78-85

17. Quoted in John Gaventa, "Video and Miners" Appalachia and Wales," Mountain Review, I (September, 1974), p. 10.

18. New York Times, March 23, 1975, p. 20.

19. Democracy in America II, *Reeve text, ed. by P. Bradley (New York: Vintage Books, 1945, 1st American ed. 1840), pp. 105-106.

STANDARD ENGLISH AND NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA: SOME ETHNIC CONSIDERATIONS

by

George Hammerbacher

Introduction

No one needs to be told that the people of Northeastern Pennsylvania speak a dialect of American English. In fact, many natives of the area are extremely aware of what they consider their personal "inadequacies" in speech. They often regard their dialect with a degree of humility that borders on shame when they confront a speaker of "Standard English", and they react with either a lessening of their own self-esteem or with a burning desire to "correct" their own inadequacies through some kind of conscious therapy. The slightest bit of education breeds jokes about "henna," "wit" (for with), the hard "g" in going out," or the pronunciations of "Scranton" and "Plymouth" which can identify a native of the area no matter where he or she may travel.

It will be the purpose of this brief segment of the institute, however, to show that these identifiable features of the dialect of Northeastern Pennsylvania are, at least partially, the result of ethnic language backgrounds, that they are no less respectable than the characteristic features of any other dialect of American English and are therefore not "corruptions" of some absolute-standard form of English, that they should be treated with the respect due any nonlinguistic aspect of cultural heritage, and that a person who wants to learn the prestige dialect for social or economic reasons can and should do so, just as one would learn French if he expected to live in Paris, without denying his heritage or casting off in shame his native dialect. This study guide will also suggest some ways of making classroom use of the rich resource of ethnic dialects, and will include a selected bibliography for further reading.

Important Definitions and Principles

A dialect is a set of habits in pronunciation, vocabulary, or sentence structure, which distinguish one variety of a language from another. Dialects may be either regional, characteristic of a particular geographic area, or sociocultural, characteristic of a particular social level or cultural group. Thus, ethnic dialects, those characteristic of a particular ethnic group, usually begin by being sociocultural, but become regional when a particular ethnic group remains for a long time in a particular geographic area and becomes prominent there.

It is crucial to keep in mind that the determination of what constitutes the "standard" dialect of any nation's language is merely a sociological and historical accident. Standard British English is the result of a long series of historical processes which made the area around London more important, politically, economically, and intellectually, than the other geographic areas of the country. If, in America, the French had won Queen Anne's War or the South had won the Civil War, or the major early universities had been in South Carolina, our standard dialect might be quite different from what it is now. The standard or prestige dialect, as it is sometimes called, is that variety of American English which is accepted as standard by most educated or influential speakers and writers. The only thing wrong with "ain't" is the fact that the respected people in our nation, the college professors, corporation executives, and political figures, do not regularly use it when they want to be thought well of — even though it is a frequent feature of the conversation of perhaps two-thirds of the American population. The interesting fact is that even the regular users of a nonstandard item like "ain't" regard it as a dialect feature which identifies them as lower class in some way.

We have also learned, through careful study of American dialects, that where dialects differ from each other, the differences are systematic. In other words, deviations from the standard dialect are not random errors nor are they the result of carelessness. In fact, many studies have shown that there is a systematic grammar of each nonstandard dialect, a grammar which has been learned and internalized and is rigidly adhered to. Black English, for instance, can be described grammatically, and its grammar is often more complex than the grammar of standard English.

Some Ethnic Characteristics of the Dialect of Northeastern Pennsylvania[1]

The dialect of Northeastern Pennsylvania has several rather obvious characteristics:

1. The th sound of the standard dialect is frequently pronounced as d or t. Thus "with" is pronounced "wid" or "wit", "Plymouth" is pronounced "plimit", "then" is pronounced "den", and "think" is pronounced "tink". An uninformed listener might attribute these sounds to carelessness, but in fact they are ethnically-related in that most European languages other than English do not contain the th sound. Therefore, that sound is not natural to any speaker of Polish, Slovak, Italian, German, or French ancestry if he or she has had much contact with the native language or with parents or grandparents who speak that language. Our familiarity with French-dialect English in films, radio, and TV, wherein a Frenchman is frequently identified by his substitution of z for th, should provide a good example. The difficulties which Oriental speakers have with the English "l" is also analogous, as is the American's difficulty with some of the nasals of French or the gutterals of German. The substitution, then, is not a random error, but a logical and systematic response to an ethnic heritage.

2. Another sound with which people of continental European ancestry have difficulty is the English ng combination as in "sing" or "long". The frequent result is a hard g as in "thinking of" or "coming up" when the ng appears before a vowel, and occasionally a k in other positions, as in the work "trying" which is pronounced "tryingK". Again this dialect feature is the result of the absence of the ng sound in the background language.

3. Vocabulary items in the dialect of Northeastern Pennsylvania which are direct borrowings from other cultures are too numerous to mention. Our local menues would be barren without pierogies, faggots, andpasties, and our entertainment would be much the less without the polka and the hafli. Vocabulary, however, can be more easily accepted as a part of ethnic heritage without the negative connotations that are so readily associated with sound structures and unusual syntax.

4. Of all the localisms which pejoratively identify the nonstandard speaker, "henna", also heard as "heyna" and "heynit" is most often the butt of ridicule. However, even this syntactic form has ethnic validity. The word is exactly equivalent to the French n'est-ce pas and the German nicht wahr and is most closely related to the Polish chi ne (pronounced chin yeh), which means roughly "Isn't that so?"

There are numerous other features of the dialect of Northeastern Pennsylvania which could, with further study, be attributed to ethnic influences. Our point here is primarily to show that the dialect of this area is profoundly influenced by the ethnic cultures which have settled here. Even factors like age (hence closeness to the original culture), education, change of socioeconomic class, travel, and mass media, all of which can modify a person's dialect, have not caused the complete obliteration of the features which we have discussed. Additionally, some of the features of this dialect are found also in the dialects of other parts of our country, attesting to the influence of European and African cultures in those areas as well.

Suggestions for Teaching

Having first come to the conclusion that "all dialects are created equal," in effect that nonstandard dialects are not substandard and that each has as much linguistic, if not social, validity as the other, the teacher's classroom reaction to a nonstandard dialect and his or her positive use of dialects as a teaching tool requires some careful consideration. There is considerable controversy over the question, some theorists recommending that teachers themselves learn the nonstandard dialect of their students and then teach that dialect and accept it from students in their written and spoken work. One writer[2] goes so far as to call bidialectism a racist device. However, it has been demonstrated that proficiency in the standard dialect is one of the results which parents expect the schools to have provided their children, and, in a world which cherishes a particular dialect or group of dialects as superior to others, he who would succeed should be proficient in those prestige dialects. To accept all dialects, particularly in the English classroom, makes teaching all but impossible since there is no standard from which to work.

It therefore becomes a matter of approach. As McDavid has pointed out, "The first principle of any language program is that....it must respect the language that the students bring with them to the classroom"[3] Since a person's dialect is a fundamental part of his or her personality, any totally negative or unsympathetic approach to that dialect will likely cause reactions that are either defensive, like that of McDavid's young Oklahoman friend, or frought with inferiority, like that of one of my former students who spoke and wrote perfect Black English but could not write or speak more than a few words at a time for me because her previous teachers had told her everything she wrote or said was "incorrect."

If the teacher works from a foundation of understanding about dialects and their close relation to ethnic backgrounds, much can be accomplished. A few specific lesson suggestions follow:

1. Have students read several literary selections which are written in nonstandard dialects and let them analyze the dialects, comparing them both to a similar selection in standard English and to their own knowledge of the nonstandard dialect under study. They might then try to translate nonstandard passages into standard and vice versa. They might also listen to tapes of TV talk shows and interviews which frequently illustrate the wide variation in dialects of speakers who fully comprehend each other.

2. Students in social studies classes can survey the ethnic backgrounds of a particular area or neighborhood and try to determine whether the language characteristics of the area are in any specific ways related to the ethnic parent language. This works particularly well in vocabulary — different names for foods and games, for instance.

3. Students can survey the dialects of their own family, determining slightly different pronunciations or vocabulary items among their relatives, and then trying to attribute these differences to differences in age, education, regional backgrounds, etc.

4. Students who have traveled to other parts of the United States or other English-speaking countries can report on dialect differences which they have noticed between those areas and their own.

5. Students can trace the settlement history of a particular part of the country and note, either from published dialect studies or from personal knowledge and observation, specific characteristics of the ethnic parent language which may be prevalent in the area. This is a particularly good project for interdisciplinary study among social studies, English, and foreign language courses.

6. The study of comic strips like L'il Abner and Pogo can reveal much about regional dialects, even to the extent that a particular comic strip may contain more than one dialect.

7. Taped radio and TV advertising can frequently illustrate dialect differences between characters as obvious as JGE's Jerry and the wide range of personalities who do testimonials for other products like beer and soap products. The linguistic diversity of sports figures is also useful.

8. American folk music and rock music can be very useful in dialect study. Note, for instance, the difference between the speech patterns and the singing dialects of such British performers as Elton John, Tom Jones, and Mick Jagger.

These are only a few suggestions. Perusal of the works listed in the following bibliography will yield many more. The essential points to remember in any dialect study, whether it be undertaken in social studies, English, or foreign language classes, are that every dialect deserves equal respect since it is the result of many interrelated regional and sociocultural forces, that no speaker of any nonstandard dialect should ever be made to feel inferior because of his dialect, that dialect study can be a rewarding and enriching cultural and linguistic experience, and that any choice of a standard dialect to be learned in addition to one's own idiolect must be made after thorough study of the options and with the student's full agreement that the standard dialect is something worth learning for his or her own personal motives.

FOOTNOTES

1. I am indebted, for field research on this topic, to three of my students, Ann Lokuta, Donald Lipski, and Judith Gates.

2. James Sledd. "Bi-Dialectism: The Linguistics of White Supremacy," in Contemporary English: Change and Variation, ed. David L. Shores. pp. 319-330.

3. Raven I. McDavid. "Sense and Nonsense About American Dialects," in Ibid., p. 139.

FURTHER READING

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SOMETHING HAPPENED ON THE WAY TO THE MELTING POT; SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY

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AUDIO VISUAL MATERIALS

FILMS

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RECORD ALBUMS

AMERICAN NEGRO HISTORY. Educational Audiovisual, 350-22.

Chiba, Garam. SONGS AND DANCES OF LEBANON. Colonial, ST-LP 760.

CHRISTMAS IN GERMANY. Capitol, DT-10095.

CHRISTMAS IN ITALY. Capitol, DT-10093.

CHRISTMAS IN LITHUANIA. Request, S-8104.

CHRISTMAS IN POLAND. Capitol, DT-10198.

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GERMAN FOLK SONGS . Folkways, Fu 8805.

Gigli, Benjamin. SONGS OF ITALY. RCA Victor, LM 2095.

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IRISH REVOLUTIONARY SONGS. New York, Olympic Records, 6104.

Kelechava, Paul. FAVORITE DANCES OF UKRAINIA. Colonial, ST-LP 729.

Kupnicki, Mike. UKRAINIAN SONG FESTIVAL. Colonial, ST-LP 703.

Lietuviska Orchestra. DANCE MUSIC FROM LITHUANIA. Colonial, ST-LP-779.

Lietuviska Orkestra and Adam Jezavitas Orchestra. SONGS AND DANCES OF LITHUANIA. Colonial Records, ST-LP 700.

Little Dublin Singers. CHRISTMAS IN IRELAND. Capitol, St-10412.

Mazowsze Choral Ensemble. FOLK SONGS OF POLAND. Vanguard, VRS 9016.

MUSIC FROM THE WELSH MINES. Washington Records, WR 416.

NEGRO FOLK MUSIC OF AFRICA AND AMERICA. Educational Audiovisual, 5RR862.

POLISH FOLK SONGS AND DANCES. FOLKWAYS, FP 848.

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Rubin, Ruth. YIDDISH FOLKSONGS. Prestige International, 13019.

RUSSIAN FOLK SONGS. Folkways, FW 6820.

St. John's Russian Orthodox Choir. A RUSSIAN CHRISTMAS. Cook, 1095.

St. John's Ukranian Catholic Church Choir. CHRISTMAS IN THE UKRAINE. Request, S-8103.

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SONGS OF OLD RUSSIA. Menitor, MPS 560.

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Sveshknikov and Volga Choirs. THE FOLK SONGS OF OLD RUSSIA. Olympic Records, 6111.

TRADITIONAL MUSIC OF IRELAND. Folkways, FW 8782.

Wolff, Ernst. GERMAN FAVORITE SONGS. Folkways, FW 6922.

RESEARCH CENTERS

THE BALCH INSTITUTE. 108 - 114 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19106.

CENTER FOR MIGRATION STUDIES. S.M. Tomasi, Director, 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island, N.Y. 10304.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN PLURALISM. Rev. Andrew Greeley, Director. National Opinion Research Center, 6030 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60637.

CENTER FOR URBAN ETHNOGRAPHY. John Szwed, Erving Goffman, Dell Hymes, Directors. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 19106.

ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAM. John Bodnar, Director. Pa. Historical and Museum Commission, Box 1026, Harrisburg, Pa. 17120.

IMMIGRATION HISTORY RESEARCH CENTER. Rudolph Vecoli, Director. University of Minnesota, 826 Berry St., St. Paul, Minnesota 55114.

NATIONAL CENTER FOR URBAN ETHNIC AFFAIRS. Msgr. Geno Baroni, President. 4408 Eighth Street, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20017.

NATIONAL PROJECT ON ETHNIC AMERICA. Irving Levine, Project Director. America Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10022.

NEW YORK CENTER FOR ETHNIC AFFAIRS. Ralph Perotta, Director. 11 W. 42nd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10036.

MUSEUMS

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF IMMIGRANTS. Statue of Liberty National Monument, Liberty Island, New York, New York.

LOCAL NEWSPAPERS

BRATSTVO (Slovak)
Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union
9 East North Street
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18702

GARSAS (Lithuanian)
Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance
71 - 73 South Washington Street
P. O. Box 32
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18703

NARODNA VOLYA (Ukrainian)
Ukrainian Workingmen's Association
440 Wyoming Avenue
Scranton, Pennsylvania 18503

POLISH - AMERICAN JOURNAL
Dende Press, Inc.
409 Cedar Avenue
Scranton, Pennsylvania 18505

ROLA BOZA (Polish)
529 East Locust Street
Scranton, Pennsylvania 18505

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX JOURNAL
Federated Russian Orthodox Clubs
84 East Market Street
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18701

STRAZ (Polish)
Polish National Union of America
1004 Pittston Avenue
Scranton, Pennsylvania 18505

LOCAL ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE. Louis Bravman, President.
64 East Union Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS(AUXILIARY). Mrs. Therese
Breslin, President. 337 North Main St. Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

B' NAI B' RITH LODGE. Michael Feinberg, President.
11 Wilkeswood Drive, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

CAMBRIAN CLUB. Mrs. John Miller, Secy. 21 West Hollenback Ave.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK OF GREATER WILKES-BARRE.
John F. Moore, Historian. 193 Division Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

HADASSAH. Mrs. Howard Klein, President. 126 Orchard Street,
Dallas, Pa.

LITHUANIAN ROMAN CATHOLIC ALLIANCE OF AMERICA.
Thomas E. Mac[illegible], President. 73 S. Washington St., Wilkes-Barre,
Pa. 18701.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN. Mrs. Morton Schiffer;
President. 96 North Atherton Ave., Kingston, Pa.

NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATION OF ARAB AMERICANS.
Gerald Decker, President. 42 Birch Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK
Charles McCarthy, Historian. 318 Butler Street, Pittston, Pa.

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS. Chester Stasyszn, Chairman.
Committee on Research and Culture, 197 Nesbitt Street, Larksville,
Pa.

POLISH NATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA. 1002 Pittston Avenue,
Scranton, Pa.

POLISH UNION OF THE UNITED STATES. Peter S. Fabian, Secretary.
53 N. Main Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 18701.

LADIES PENNSYLVANIA SLOVAK CATHOLIC UNION. Mrs. Cecelia
Wysocki, Secretary. I.B.E. Building, 69 Public Square, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 18701.

NATIONAL SLOVAK SOCIETY. Milan Krupa, Auditor. 89 E. Vaughn Street, Kington, Pa. 18704.

PENNSYLVANIA SLOVAK CATHOLIC UNION. 9 East North Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 18702.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CATHOLIC MUTUAL AID SOCIETY. Basil Homick, Secretary. 84 E. Market Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pa. 18701.

ST. DAVID'S SOCIETY. Herbert J. Morris, President. Shrine Acres Valley View Drive, Route 4, Dallas, Pa. 18701.

UKRAINIAN WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION. 440 Wyoming Avenue, Scranton, Pa. 18503.

WOMEN'S SERVICE CLUB. Mrs. Jerome Ross, President. 248 East Dorrance Street, Kingston, Pa.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA. Jerry Chariton, President. UnitedPenn Bank Building, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

CHURCH HISTORIES

Located in Special Collections Department
King's College Library, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

GERMAN

St. Mary's Assumption Church, Pittston, Pa.

St. Mary's Assumption Church, Scranton, Pa.

St. Nicholas Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

St. Peter Evangelical Lutheran Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

ITALIAN

Holy Rosary Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Hazleton, Pa.

St. Anthony's Church, Exeter, Pa.

LEBANESE

St. Ann's Maronite Church, Scranton, Pa.

St. Anthony's Maronite Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

St. George Maronite Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

LITHUANIAN

St. Casimir's Church, Plymouth, Pa.

St. Joseph Church, Nanticoke, Pa.

POLISH

Holy Family Church, Sugar Notch, Pa.

Maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary Church, Scranton, Pa.

Sacred Heart of Jesus Church, Forest City, Pa.

St. Adalbert Polish National Catholic Church, Dickson City, Pa.

St. Anthony Church, Throop, Pa.

St. Joseph's Church, Hudson, Pa.

St. Joseph's Church, Wyoming, Pa.

St. Mary Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church, Mocanaqua, Pa.

St. Mary's Polish National Catholic Church, Duryea, Pa.

St. Mary's Visitation Church, Dickson City, Pa.

St. Stanislaus Church B. M., Nanticoke, Pa.

St. Stanislaus Kostka Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

S.S. Peter and Paul's Church, Plains, Pa.

S.S. Peter and Paul's Church, Scranton, Pa.

Transfiguration Church, West Hazleton, Pa.

RUSSIAN(RUTHENIAN)

St. Mary's Greek Catholic Church, Scranton, Pa.

St. Michael Byzantine Catholic Church, Pittston, Pa.

St. Nicholas Greek Catholic Church, Old Forge, Pa.

SLOVAK

All Saints Church, Dunmore, Pa.

Ascension Church, Mocanaqua, Pa.

Holy Rosary Church, Ashley, Pa.

Holy Trinity Church, Swoyerville, Pa.

St. Anthony's Church, Larksville, Pa.

St. Joseph's Church, Hazleton, Pa.

St. Michael the Archangel Church, Forest City, Pa.

St. Stephen's Church, Plymouth, Pa.

UKRAINIAN

St. Michael Ukrainian Catholic Church, Hazleton, Pa.

S.S. Peter and Paul's Ukrainian Catholic Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

WELSH

First Welsh Baptist Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Nebo Baptist Church, Nanticoke, Pa.

Second Welsh Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Welsh Bethel Baptist Church, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Some Statistics on the Immigrant Influx into Luzerne County, Pa. (1870-1910)

compiled by

Edward George Hartmann, Ph.D.

The following statistics on Luzerne County and its two largest cities have been chosen to illustrate the growing strength of immigrant influx into the County from the post-Civil War period until 1920.

LUZERNE COUNTY, PA.

U.S. Census Figures	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Total Population	106,227	97,349	201,203	257,121	343,186
Foreign-Born	54,538	35,716	64,103	72,962	98,644
Negroes	766	755	816	945	924
Foreign-Born:					
Austria	-------	-------	3,698	6,054	23,375
Belgium	-------	-------	38	38	8
Bohemia	-------	-------	94	102	(w/Austria)
Canada	512	335	263	321	394
Denmark	-------	-------	78	61	69
England	17,910	12,510	9,346	7,497	6,431
Wales			10,392	8,578	7,342
Finland	-------	-------	-------	15	4
France	193	108	93	85	90
Germany	8,749	5,806	8,925	8,137	8,781
Greece	-------	-------	-------	-------	117
Holland	18	-------	14	15	30
Hungary	-------	-------	5,104	6,512	5,136
Ireland	24,610	13,598	13,012	9,755	6,752
Italy	9	-------	1,661	3,420	9,639

Norway	-------	212	16	20	33
Sweden			363	343	339
Poland	66	449	7,408	17,031 (Germany 2,285 Austria 4,533 Russia 9,185 Other 1,028	(w/Austria Germany Russia)
Rumania	-------	-------	-------	6	78
Russia	-------	-------	1,365	3,146	28,015
Scotland	2,040	1,415	1,758	1,411	1,283
Switzerland	348	124	91	84	339
Turkey, Asia	-------	-------	-------	14	234
Turkey, Europe	-------	-------	-------		176
China	-------	-------	11	30	-------

LUZERNE COUNTY, PA.

Census of 1910

Total Population	343,186
Foreign-Born Whites	98,644
Negroes	924

Foreign-White Stock (Immigrants & children)

	Foreign-Born	Children	Total
1. Russia (includes Great Russians, Poles from "Congress Poland", Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and Yiddish-speakers)	28,051	19,893	47,908
2. Austria (includes German-Austrians, Czechs, Slovenes, Poles and Ukrainians from Galicia Province, Yiddish-speakers, and Italians from Trent ans South Tyrol)	23,375	21,919	42,294
3. Ireland	6,752	16,292	23,044
4. Germany (includes Poles and Yiddish-speakers from Posen (Poznan) Province)	8,781	14,102	22,883
5. Wales	7,324	8,245	15,578
6. Italy	9,638	5,658	15,296

	Foreign-Born	Children	Total
7. England	6,431	5,699	12,100
8. Hungary (includes Magyars, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Croatians, RRoumanians, and Yiddish-speakers)	5,136	4,811	9,947
9. Scotland	1,283	1,116	2,399
10. Sweden	339	302	641
11. Canada	394	96	490
12. Switzerland	339	89	428
13. Turkey, Asia (includes Syrians and Lebanese)	234	-----	234
14. Turkey, Europe (includes Greeks and Albanians)	176	-----	176
15. France	90	70	160
16. Greece	117	-----	117
17. Denmark	69	23	92
18. Roumania	78	-----	78
19. Norway	33	16	49
20. Netherlands	30	-----	30
21. Belgium	8	-----	8
22. Finland	4	-----	4

WILKES-BARRE, PA.

Census of 1920

Total Population	73,833
Native Parentage	28,709
Foreign Parentage	21,424
Mixed Parentage	8,576
Foreign-Born Whites	14,567
Blacks	552
Chinese	5

Foreign-Born, Country of Origin	
Poland	2,840
Wales	1,599
Germany	1,453
Russia	1,412
England	1,255
Ireland	1,064
Lithuania	1,042
Italy	875
Czecho-Slovakia	811
Austria	747
Syria (includes Lebanon)	389
Scotland	244
Hungary	217
Sweden	140
Canada, English	89
Greece	64
France	56
Yugo-Slavia	52
Turkey, Asia	27
Roumania	25
Switzerland	18
Norway	13
Denmark	12
Mexico	9
Palestine	9
Central America	7
Netherlands	7
China	5
West Indies	5
Armenia	4
Canada, French	4
Belgium	2
Bulgaria	2
Spain	2
Other	29

WILKES-BARRE, PA.

Census of 1920

Total Population	73,833
Native White Parentage	28,709
Foreign White Parentage	21,424
Mixed White Parentage	8,576
Foreign-Born Whites	14,567
Blacks	552
Chinese	5

Mother Tongue of Foreign White Stock(Immigrants & children)

Total (all languages)	44,567
English and Celtic	16,347
(England	3,823)
(Scotland	709)
(Ireland	6,017)
(Wales	4,794)
(Other	1,004)
German	6,943
Polish	6,669
Slovak	3,047
Lithuanian & Lettish	2,683
Yiddish & Hebrew	2,301
Italian	2,023
Russian	1,263(see note below)
Syrian & Arabic	1,036
Ruthenian	534
Swedish	353
French	148
Greek	101
Czech	82
Magyar	79
Slovenian	79
Danish	34
Dutch	30
Norwegian	24
Roumanian	23
Serbo-Croatian	22
Spanish	13
Armenian	7
Flemish	5
Albanian	4
Bulgarian	2
Portuguese	1
Finnish	1
Unknown	16
Mixed Mother Tongue	667

Note: Figures for "Russian" include Ukrainian speakers, and Yiddish-speakers reported erroneously as Russian by mother tongue.

HAZLETON, PA.

Census of 1920

Total Population	32,277
Native Parentage	11,384
Foreign Parentage	11,044
Mixed Parentage	3,796
Foreign-Born Whites	6,026
Blacks	22
Chinese & Japanese	8

Foreign-Born, Country of Origin

Italy	2,278
Poland	697
Germany	531
Czecho-Slovakia	528
Austria	431
Russia	321
Hungary	312
Ireland	239
England	211
Lithuania	130
Wales	77
Syria(includes Lebanon)	45
Scotland	42
Switzerland	39
France	27
Yugo-Slavia	27
Greece	23
Canada, English	21
Central America	14
Roumania	5
Belgium	3
Netherlands	3
China	2
Spain	2
Armenia	1
Canada, French	1
Denmark	1
Finland	1
Bulgaria	1
Japan	1
Norway	1
Sweden	1
Other	10

HAZLETON, PA.

Census of 1920

Total Population	32,277
Native White Parentage	11,384
Foreign White Parentage	11,044
Mixed White Parentage	3,796
Foreign-Born Whites	6,026
Blacks	22
Chinese & Japanese	8

Mother Tongue of Foreign-White Stock(Immigrants & children)

Total (all languages)	20,863
Italian	6,457
German	3,415
English & Celtic	3,375
(England	895)
(Ireland	656)
(Wales	429)
(Scotland	180)
(Other	155)
Slovak	2,800
Polish	1,925
Ruthenian	646
Yiddish & Hebrew	526
Lithuanina & Lettish	450
Slovenian	254
Magyar	247
Russian	214(see note below)
Syrian & Arabic	113
French	54
Greek	35
Serbo-Croatian	18
Dutch	7
Roumanian	4
Spanish	3
Norwegian	2
Swedish	2
Albanian	1
Armenian	1
Portuguese	1
Unknown	18
Mixed Mother Tongue	275

Note: Figures for "Russian" include Ukrainian speakers, and Yiddish-speakers reported erroneously as Russian by mother tongue.

LUZERNE COUNTY

Total Population	342301
Native of Native Parentage	241267
Total Foreign Stock	101034(a)

COUNTRY	FOREIGN(b) STOCK	PERCENT OF TOTAL(c) FOREIGN STOCK	NATIVE(d)	PERCENT NATIVE	FOREIGN(e) BORN	PERCENT FOREIGN BORN
United Kingdom	8843	8.75%	7685	7.61%	1158	1.14%
Ireland	3167	3.13%	3078	3.04%	89	.09%
Norway	46	.05%	31	.03%	15	.02%
Sweden	171	.17%	157	.16%	14	.01%
Denmark	68	.07%	57	.06%	11	.01%
Netherlands	60	.06%	55	.05%	5	.01%
Switzerland	139	.14%	111	.11%	28	.03%
France	330	.33%	223	.22%	107	.11%
Germany	5097	5.05%	4644	4.50%	553	.55%
Poland	27262	27.00%	24429	24.20%	2833	2.80%
Czechoslovakia	7828	7.70%	6744	6.60%	1084	1.10%
Austria	10966	10.80%	9972	9.80%	994	1.00%
Hungary	1431	1.40%	1201	1.20%	230	.20%
Yugoslavia	516	.51%	392	.39%	124	.12%
U.S.S.R.	3183	3.10%	2799	2.80%	384	.30%
Lithuania	6442	6.40%	5779	5.70%	663	.70%
Finland	60	.06%	48	.05%	12	.01%
Rumania	174	.17%	141	.14%	33	.03%
Greece	256	.25%	214	.21%	42	.04%
Italy	17029	16.80%	14178	14.00%	2851	2.80%
Portugal	42	.04%	42	.04%	0	0
Other Europe	1893	1.87%	1690	1.67%	203	.20%
Southwest Asia	1033	1.02%	859	.85%	174	.17%
China	6	.01%	6	.01%	0	0
Japan	32	.03%	26	.02%	6	.01%
Other Asia	212	.20%	103	.10%	109	.10%
Canada	651	.64%	490	.48%	161	.16%
Mexico	48	.05%	36	.04%	12	.01%
Cuba	76	.08%	16	.02%	60	.06%
Other America	237	.23%	112	.11%	125	.12%
Africa	47	.05%	16	.02%	31	.03%
All Other	182	.18%	129	.13%	53	.05%
Not Reported	3507	3.47%	2637	2.61%	870	.86%
Total	101034	99.91%(f)	88000	87.97%	13034	11.94%

Notes:

(a) The Total Foreign Stock is comprised of persons of only first or second generation.

(b) The Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of persons native and foreign born.

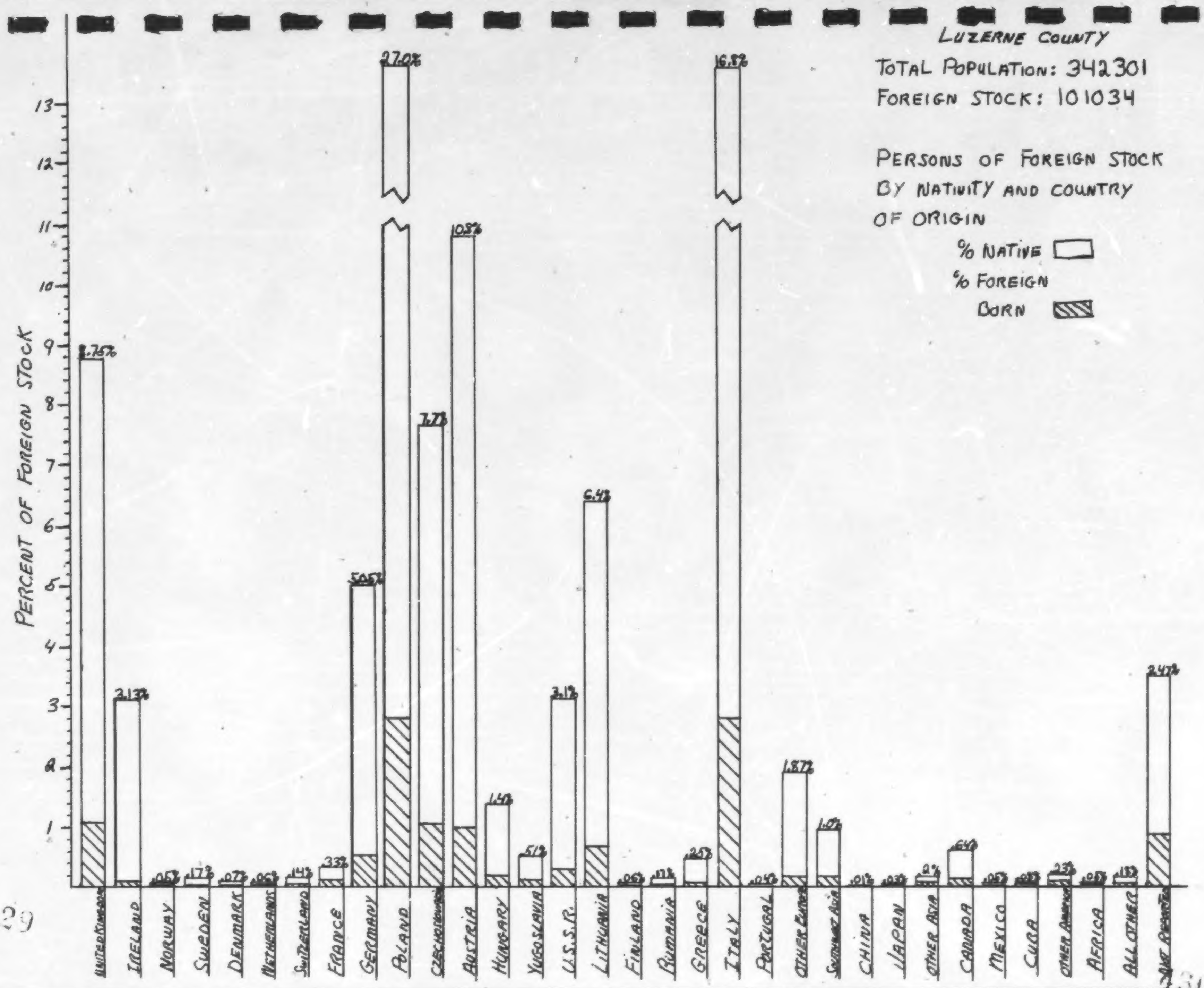
(c) The percentage of the Total Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of the native and foreign born percentages for that group.

(d) Second generation: native born of foreign born parents

(e) First generation: foreign born

(f) Due to rounding, total percentage is not exactly 100%.

Source: 1970 Census


LUZERNE COUNTY

TOTAL POPULATION: 342301

FOREIGN STOCK: 101034

PERSONS OF FOREIGN STOCK BY NATIVITY AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

WILKES-BARRE CITY

Total Population	58817
Native of Native Parentage	41692
Total Foreign Stock	17152(a)

COUNTRY	FOREIGN(b) STOCK	PERCENT OF TOTAL(c) FOREIGN STOCK	NATIVE(d)	PERCENT NATIVE	FOREIGN(e) BORN	PERCENT FOREIGN BORN
United Kingdom	2073	12.10%	1776	10.30%	297	1.80%
Ireland	1031	6.00%	988	5.75%	43	.25%
Norway	25	.15%	14	.09%	9	.06%
Sweden	36	.20%	36	.20%	0	0
Denmark	38	.22%	33	.19%	5	.03%
Netherlands	11	.06%	11	.06%	0	0
Switzerland	12	.07%	12	.07%	0	0
France	37	.20%	24	.13%	13	.07%
Germany	1216	7.10%	1133	6.60%	83	.50%
Poland	3972	23.20%	3475	20.30%	497	2.90%
Czechoslovakia	974	5.70%	802	4.70%	172	1.00%
Austria	1772	10.30%	1608	9.30%	164	1.00%
Hungary	224	1.30%	175	1.00%	49	.30%
Yugoslavia	75	.44%	20	.12%	55	.32%
U.S.S.R.	721	4.20%	621	3.60%	100	.60%
Lithuania	1023	6.00%	896	5.20%	127	.80%
Rumania	25	.15%	25	.15%	0	0
Greece	41	.20%	41	.20%	0	0
Italy	2205	12.90%	1749	10.20%	456	2.70%
Portugal	17	.10%	17	.10%	0	0
Other Europe	201	1.20%	146	.80%	55	.40%
Southwest Asia	689	4.00%	559	3.20%	130	.80%
China	6	.03%	6	.03%	0	0
Other Asia	39	.22%	12	.07%	27	.15%
Canada	119	.70%	94	.55%	25	.15%
Mexico	37	.21%	25	.15%	12	.06%
Cuba	6	.03%	0	0	6	.03%
Other America	76	.44%	33	.20%	43	.24%
Africa	22	.13%	7	.04%	15	.09%
All Other	62	.40%	30	.20%	32	.20%
Not Reported	369	2.20%	241	1.40%	128	.80%
Total	17152	100.15%(f)	14609	84.90%	2543	15.25%

Notes:

(a) The Total Foreign Stock is comprised of persons of only first or second generation.

(b) The Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of persons native and foreign born.

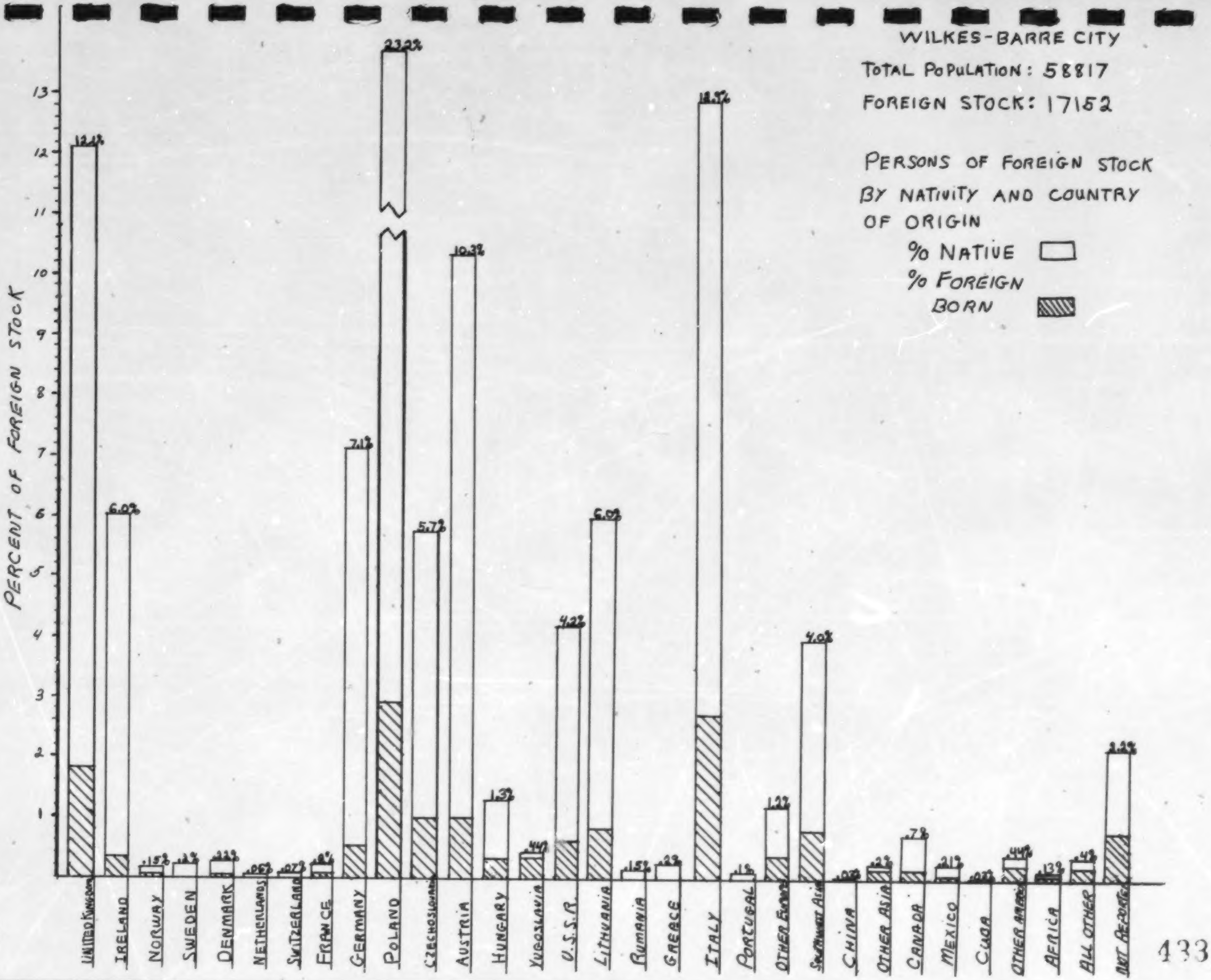
(c) The percentage of the Total Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of the native and foreign born percentages for that group..

(d) Second generation: native born of foreign born parents.

(e) First generation: foreign born.

(f) Due to rounding, total percentage is not exactly 100%.

Source: 1970 Census


WILKES-BARRE CITY

TOTAL POPULATION: 58817

FOREIGN STOCK: 17152

PERSONS OF FOREIGN STOCK BY NATIVITY AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

HAZLETON CITY

Total Population	30426
Native of Native Parentage	20406
Total Foreign Stock	10020(a)

COUNTRY	FOREIGN(b) STOCK	PERCENT OF TOTAL(c) FOREIGN STOCK	NATIVE(d)	PERCENT NATIVE	FOREIGN(e) BORN	PERCENT FOREIGN BORN
United Kingdom	393	3.90%	359	3.60%	34	.30%
Ireland	371	3.70%	366	3.65%	5	.05%
Sweden	13	.13%	13	.13%	0	0
Switzerland	16	.16%	9	.09%	7	.07%
France	43	.40%	31	.30%	12	.10%
Germany	518	5.20%	464	4.60%	54	.60%
Poland	1092	11.00%	955	9.50%	137	1.50%
Czechoslovakia	1210	12.10%	1069	10.70%	141	1.40%
Austria	1262	12.60%	1156	11.50%	106	1.10%
Hungary	158	1.60%	150	1.50%	8	.10%
Yugoslavia	98	1.00%	82	.80%	16	.20%
U.S.S.R.	366	3.60%	298	2.90%	68	.70%
Lithuania	229	2.30%	214	2.14%	15	.16%
Rumania	21	.20%	21	.20%	0	0
Greece	47	.47%	31	.31%	16	.16%
Italy	3430	34.20%	3009	30.00%	421	4.20%
Other Europe	277	2.70%	257	2.50%	20	.20%
Southwest Asia	40	.40%	40	.40%	0	0
Other Asia	8	.08%	8	.08%	0	0
Canada	67	.67%	51	.51%	16	.16%
Cuba	10	.10%	4	.04%	6	.06%
Other America	39	.40%	31	.30%	8	.10%
Africa	10	.10%	0	0	10	.10%
All Other	5	.05%	5	.05%	0	0
Not Reported	297	3.00%	209	2.10%	88	.90%
Total	10020	100.06%(f)	8832	87.90%	1188	12.16%

Notes:

(a) The Total Foreign Stock is comprised of persons of only first or second generation.

(b) The Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of persons native and foreign born.

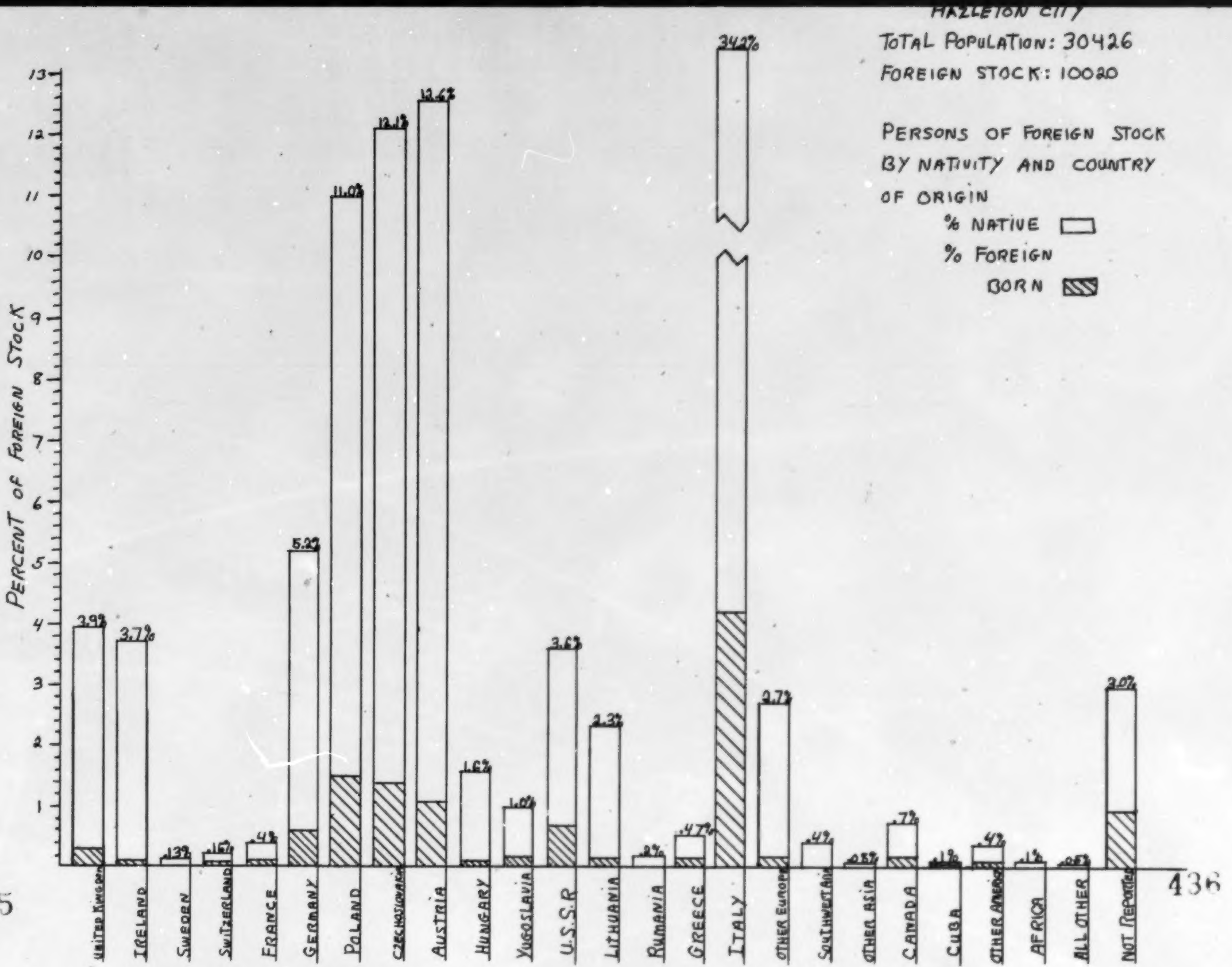
(c) The percentage of the Total Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of the native and foreign born percentages for that group..

(d) Second generation: native born of foreign born parents.

(e) First generation: foreign born.

(f) Due to rounding, total percentage is not exactly 100%.

Source: 1970 Census


HAZLETON CITY
TOTAL POPULATION: 30426
FOREIGN STOCK: 10020
PERSONS OF FOREIGN STOCK BY NATIVITY AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
% NATIVE ☐
% FOREIGN BORN ▨
PERCENT OF FOREIGN STOCK
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
3.9%
3.7%
.13%
.16%
.4%
5.2%
11.0%
12.1%
12.6%
1.6%
1.0%
3.6%
2.3%
.2%
.47%
34.2%
2.7%
.4%
.05%
.7%
.1%
.4%
.1%
.05%
3.0%
UNITED KINGDOM
IRELAND
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
GERMANY
POLAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
YUGOSLAVIA
U.S.S.R.
LITHUANIA
RUMANIA
GREECE
ITALY
OTHER EUROPE
SOUTHWEST ASIA
OTHER ASIA
CANADA
CUBA
OTHER AMERICA
AFRICA
ALL OTHER
NOT REPORTED

NANTICOKE CITY

Total Population	14641
Native of Native Parentage	8523
Total Foreign Stock	6118(a)

COUNTRY	FOREIGN(b) STOCK	PERCENT OF TOTAL(c) FOREIGN STOCK	NATIVE(d)	PERCENT NATIVE	FOREIGN(e) BORN	PERCENT FOREIGN BORN
United Kingdom	474	7.70%	377	6.10%	97	1.60%
Ireland	39	.63%	31	.50%	8	.13%
France	7	.10%	7	.10%	0	0
Germany	352	5.75%	322	5.25%	30	.50%
Poland	3254	53.20%	2802	45.80%	452	7.40%
Czechoslovakia	312	5.10%	217	3.54%	95	1.56%
Austria	514	8.40%	460	7.50%	54	.90%
Hungary	74	1.20%	74	1.20%	0	0
U.S.S.R.	171	2.80%	157	2.57%	14	.23%
Lithuania	247	4.00%	247	4.00%	0	0
Greece	25	.40%	13	.21%	12	.19%
Italy	326	5.30%	247	4.00%	79	1.30%
Other Europe	65	1.10%	58	1.00%	7	.10%
Southwest Asia	14	.20%	14	.20%	0	0
Japan	32	.52%	26	.42%	6	.10%
Other Asia	15	.24%	7	.11%	8	.13%
Canada	5	.08%	5	.08%	0	0
All Other	5	.08%	5	.08%	0	0
Not Reported	187	3.06%	133	2.17%	54	.89%
Total	6118	99.90%(f)	5202	84.87%	916	15.03%

Notes:

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(b) The Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of persons native and foreign born.

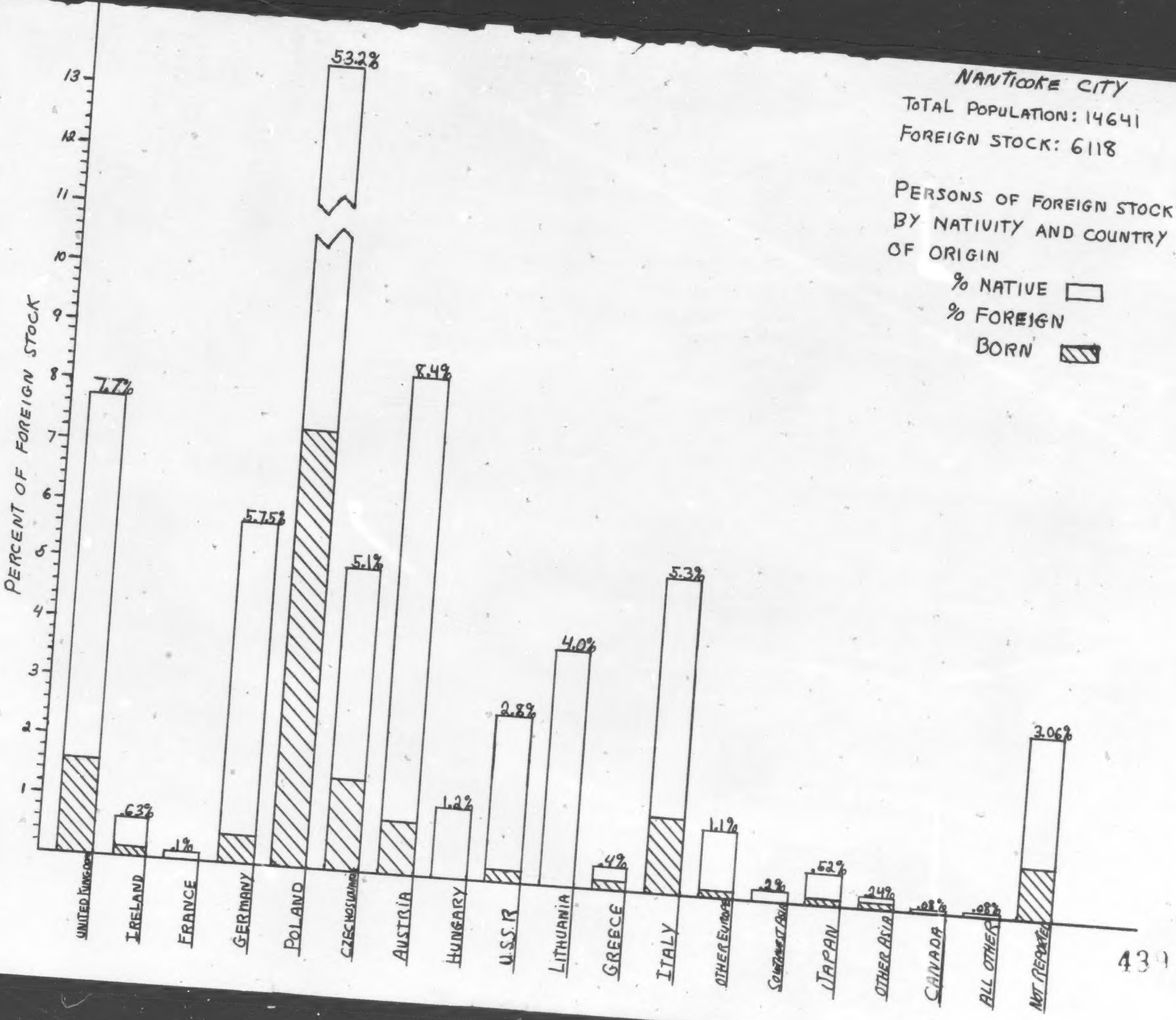
(c) The percentage of the Total Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of the native and foreign born percentages for that group.

(d) Second generation: native born of foreign born parents.

(e) First generation: foreign born

(f) Due to rounding, total percentage is not exactly 100%.

Source: 1970 Census


NANTICOKE CITY
TOTAL POPULATION: 14641
FOREIGN STOCK: 6118
PERSONS OF FOREIGN STOCK BY NATIVITY AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
% NATIVE ☐
% FOREIGN BORN ▨
PERCENT OF FOREIGN STOCK
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
7.7%
.63%
.1%
5.75%
53.2%
5.1%
8.4%
1.2%
2.8%
4.0%
.4%
5.3%
1.1%
.2%
.52%
.24%
.08%
.08%
3.06%
UNITED KINGDOM
IRELAND
FRANCE
GERMANY
POLAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
U.S.S.R
LITHUANIA
GREECE
ITALY
OTHER EUROPE
SOUTHWEST ASIA
JAPAN
OTHER ASIA
CANADA
ALL OTHER
NOT REPORTED

PITTSTON CITY

Total Population	11113
Native of Native Parentage	7045
Total Foreign Stock	4068(a)

COUNTRY	FOREIGN(b) STOCK	PERCENT OF TOTAL(c) FOREIGN STOCK	NATIVE(d)	PERCENT NATIVE	FOREIGN(e) BORN	PERCENT FOREIGN BORN
United Kingdom	103	2.50%	103	2.50%	0	0
Ireland	219	5.40%	219	5.40%	0	0
Switzerland	19	.47%	19	.47%	0	0
Germany	126	3.10%	106	2.60%	20	.50%
Poland	386	9.50%	366	9.00%	20	.50%
Czechoslovakia	79	2.00%	67	1.70%	12	.30%
Austria	136	3.34%	126	3.10%	10	.24%
Hungary	21	.50%	21	.50%	0	0
U.S.S.R.	21	.50%	21	.50%	0	0
Lithuania	464	11.40%	378	9.30%	86	2.10%
Finland	36	.88%	24	.59%	12	.29%
Italy	2341	57.50%	1825	45.00%	516	12.50%
Southwest Asia	4	.10%	4	.10%	0	0
Other America	7	.17%	0	0	7	.17%
Africa	15	.37%	9	.22%	6	.15%
Not Reported	91	2.20%	42	1.00%	49	1.20%
Total	4068	99.93%(f)	3330	81.98%	738	17.95%

Notes:

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(b) The Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of persons native and foreign born.

(c) The percentage of the Total Foreign Stock of each group is the sum of the native and foreign born percentages for that group.

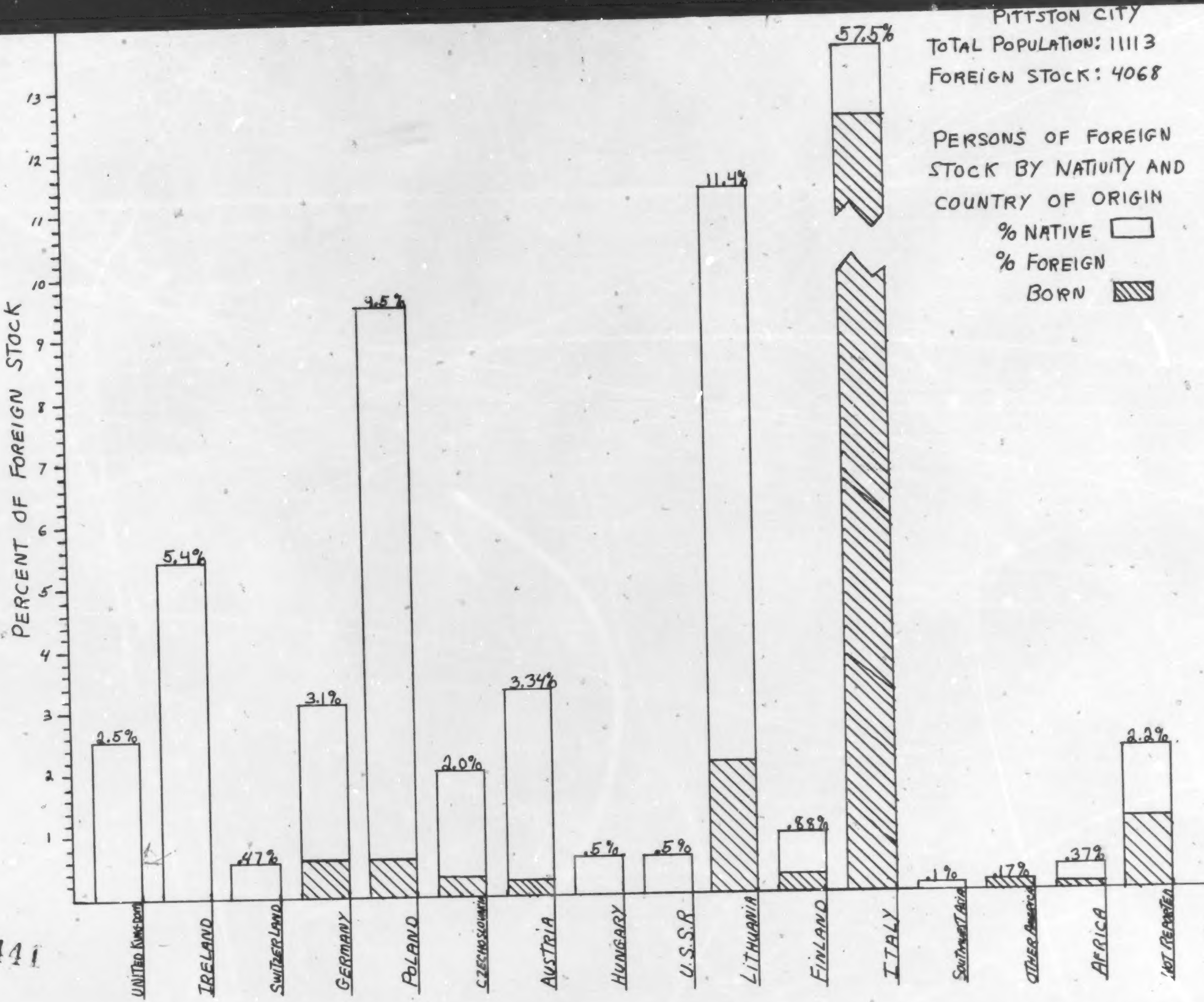
(d) Second generation: native born of foreign born parents.

(e) First generation: foreign born

(f) Due to rounding, total percentage is not exactly 100%.

Source: 1970 Census

Statistics and Graphs compiled by
Richard G. Reed, King's College
July, 1975


PITTSTON CITY
TOTAL POPULATION: 11113
FOREIGN STOCK: 4068
PERSONS OF FOREIGN STOCK BY NATIVITY AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
% NATIVE ☐
% FOREIGN BORN ▨
PERCENT OF FOREIGN STOCK
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
2.5%
5.4%
.47%
3.1%
9.5%
2.0%
3.34%
.5%
.5%
11.4%
.88%
57.5%
.1%
.17%
.37%
2.2%
UNITED KINGDOM
IRELAND
SWITZERLAND
GERMANY
POLAND
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
U.S.S.R
LITHUANIA
FINLAND
ITALY
SOUTHWEST ASIA
OTHER AMERICA
AFRICA
NOT REPORTED